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A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY

BY

WILLIAM CANTON

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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Her Majesty Queen Alexandra.
Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales.
The Archbishop of Canterbury.

FIFTH PERIOD, 1884—1904

CHAPTER LV

BETWEEN THE SEA AND THE SAHARA

EARLY in 1884, as we have said, Mr Mackintosh was appointed to the agency of Morocco. Shehadi, one of his Syrian scholars, became his first colporteur. Within a few months he had three men at Tangier, and a fourth at Mogador; and Rosa, the wife of Colporteur Aikola, assisted Mrs Mackintosh in her efforts among the native women.

The conditions of the work in these regions were in one respect unique. Morocco was emphatically the land of the Koran. In other Christian countries overwhelmed in the Arab Conquest — in Persia, Syria, Egypt — the ancient Churches had been preserved from destruction, and had kept alive, however dimly glimmering, the light of the Gospel. In Northern Africa Christianity was utterly extinguished; the aboriginal tribes were driven into conformity at the point of the Prophet's sword; and "the long Province from Tripoli to the Atlantic lost all memory of the language and religion of Rome."[1] When the Society entered this new field there was "not one native Moor who had been born of Christian parents."

The country was larger than France. The population scarcely numbered 7,000,000. A lawless, volcanic population, in a chronic state of turbulence and insurrection!

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. vi. pp. 108-110.

Government, as we understand the word, was unknown. Such order as existed was enforced by punitive raids and ruthless massacres. Long oppression and injustice had bred a sullen fear and a restless distrust which destroyed all kindly intercourse. Outside the city walls travellers' tents were not safe at night without a guard of soldiers. Townsmen could not even name the villages they saw on the surrounding mountains; and the peasants who came down to market were so suspicious, that when asked whence they came, they refused to tell.

Strange to say, from the first Mr Mackintosh described the country as more accessible, the people as more friendly than he had expected. His Eastern training stood him in good stead; his confidence in a divine companionship—"I am with you alway"—stood him in better. He flung himself fearlessly into the excitable crowds of the large towns; explored with as little misgiving the wild and beautiful recesses of the Atlas, where each mountain was inhabited by a different tribe, and many of the villages were "eyried" on such precipitous rocks that the little children were tethered to a tree or stake lest they should fall over and be killed. Now he and his small company toiled along the sea-shore, where the loose sand scorched the feet, and the sun rained down fire and fever. Now it was a night of furious rain and the squalor and uproar of a caravanserai packed with Arabs and negroes, mules, horses, camels, asses, cocks and hens. Perhaps they chanced to come to one of the open-air souks or markets which are held in some neutral spot; slopes and valleys were brilliant with masses of oleander, sheets of rose-coloured mallow-blossom and blue convolvulus, patches of white, pink and yellow cistus; the name of the storks was legion; and the people streamed up from the straths and over the hills "like worshippers to a Highland Communion."

Or they seemed to be once more among the lovely scenes of Lebanon; but the white-walled city below them was

Tetuan. He read and talked for hours to the throngs of Moslems and Jews. Some were hard and bigoted; others eager, and astonished to hear him quote from the Koran with a knowledge far beyond their own. All were civil; and many would have bought had they not been afraid of their neighbours. In one of the streets an old Moor, who had twice refused his books, beckoned to him from where he sat among his piles of pottery; other Moors gathered round, and listened to the tenth chapter of St John. He visited the shops, houses and bazaars at Melilla. The men at Wujda begged him to stay and be their sheik, and they would be his disciples; they made feasts for him, and the kadi sent him presents of tea, coffee and other provisions. At Arzîla, on the western coast, a copy of the Bible was taken to the mosque; the people prayed over it, deliberated, and at last decided that "it would not do for them to buy it." "Zeed, zeed!" ["Go on, go on!"] cried the Moorish peasants, as he paused in his reading at Laraish. How well they understood this Parable of the Sower, saw it all in the mind's eye, explained the points to each other, laughed with pleasure, like children, at its freshness and its familiar details!

Rabat, on the south bank of the river, is over against the old wasps' nest of "the Sallee rovers." Steamers lie-to here for hours in the offing, waiting for the Atlantic rollers to subside on the dangerous bar. The place was Moslem of the Moslems, but during the time he was detained there he went without check from street to street, from shop to shop. Large groups listened to him and questioned him. Every day some books were sold. The lads delighted in Genesis —"the Beginning of the World" ("Buda ud Dunya"), as they called it. At the mosque objections were raised to misunderstood phrases — "God making men to His own image," "resting from His work," and the like—and books were brought back, but though some of the friendly grew

cold, there was no show of hostility. On the contrary, the Mohammedans, who thought the English were Fire-worshippers, would not believe that a Nusrani (Nazarene) could speak of these high matters: "Oh, you are a Moslem!" They travelled to Wazzan under safe-conduct of the Sharîf, the most powerful subject in the Empire, who had married an English lady. Beside a clear pool among the fruit trees in the Sultan's garden the Sharîf's eldest son listened to the reading of the Scriptures; copies of the large Arabic Bible were presented to the high chiefs; but the strangers were withheld from attending the great fair lest they should be harmed in some outbreak of fanaticism, or carried off by the lawless tribesmen who came down armed from the mountains.

Mrs Mackintosh accompanied her husband in all his journeys, and supplemented his work with winning brightness and unwearied devotion.[1] In the half-savage hamlets among the hills, at sunset beside the village fountains, in the great white Moorish houses, full of women, children and slaves, she told her own sex the wonderful story of the Saviour's love. In one city at least, Tetuan, a group of earnest women, one of whom could read, were drawn to the study of the Bible.

In this manner a beginning was made in spreading a knowledge of the Gospel in "the Ends of the West"; and portions of the Word of God—purchased for money, or bartered for oranges, eggs, fowls, milk, butter, and bundles of dried fish—were scattered abroad. But the people, ready to listen, were slow to buy, and the yearly circulation was still under 800 copies. There was "much more ploughing than sowing."

In 1887, when colportage was almost at a standstill for want of men, and Mr Mackintosh was earnestly praying to

[1] Mrs Mackintosh was a sister of Sir John Seeley, professor of Modern History at Cambridge. She contributed to the Society's magazines some of the most vivid pictures of the agency in Morocco.

God for a helper of His own sending, he was surprised by the appearance of a young Syrian, Aisa Farah, at his door in Tangier. When Aisa was a village lad eighteen years before, Mr Mackintosh had met him in one of his tours beyond Hermon and placed him in the Scottish Mission School at Suki. And now, twelve days since, a call to go forth in faith had come to the young man in Lebanon. He had started at dawn for the port of Beyrout; and there, and at Port Said and Gibraltar, steamers were ready to sail, "as if they had been specially chartered to carry *him* to Morocco."

A bright and gallant spirit, as one sees at a glance! Watching the dense ring of faces round the snake-charmers on the fair-ground, the knots of men sitting with eyes and ears intent on the story-teller, he asked himself, Why not I too?—put on a Moorish jelab, took with him a Moorish musical instrument, and made the attempt not once, but many times. He had audiences of fifty or a hundred, some listening attentively, others disputing, arguing, opposing. With the help of friends in England he distributed loaves of bread on Sunday mornings, not without some earnest talk of the Living Bread, to sixty or seventy of the poor of Tangier who assembled in a large tent in the market-place outside the walls. Christian charity seemed marvellous to the Moslem poor, who were driven from the doors of their own rich people with the usual pious expressions, "May God open!" "God will give thee," which meant that *they* proposed neither to open nor to give. One very poor Sahara woman, who lived by collecting fuel on the mountains, brought him one of her heavy loads of firewood in token of her gratitude.

Unhappily his period of service was but brief. He made his last tour to Fez and Mequinez with Captain Armstrong of Gibraltar in May 1891; in August he died in Tangier of an internal complaint complicated with fever. "I almost despair," wrote Mr Mackintosh, "of finding another man who will prove so well fitted in language and tact, so earnest

and successful in the work of the Bible Society." Through the kindness of Captain Armstrong three of his little children were placed in Christian homes in Scotland.

The Gospel of St Matthew in Riffi, nine chapters of which Mr Mackintosh had translated in 1883, was completed, and left the press in 1887. Riffi, or Northern Shilha, was a dialect of the aboriginal Berber spoken in the Riff hill-country, which sweeps 200 miles eastward from the Straits of Gibraltar. In 1890 the Gospel of St John was published, but in the absence of native help nothing further was undertaken. It was arranged, however, that an attempt should be made in Sûsiya (Southern Shilha, or Shlu), the speech of the Great Atlas south of Marakesh, and Mr William Summers of the North Africa Mission began to translate, and hoped to finish his task among the people of Tarudant.

Early in the nineties the staff of colporteurs was strengthened; considerable quantities of books were ordered by the lady missionaries stationed at Fez; the work of distribution broadened out with the co-operation of the North Africa and South Morocco Missions; and the prospect was brightened by evidence that the Divine Word had touched the hearts of many. Moslem fakihs or teachers, once bigoted opponents, now encouraged the school children and young men to buy. Arabs from the Sahara, who found the Gospel in the house of a Mohammedan at Marakesh, sat far into the night transcribing the chapters they valued most. "We have been wishing for this book for a long time, but no one could tell us where we might find it." Great was their joy when a missionary gave them several copies to take back to their oasis fourteen days distant in the Great Desert. Numerous incidents lightened the labour of the colporteurs. One man was followed from Fez to Mequinez by a post-runner for the sake of hearing the Scriptures read at the resting places on the journey. Another showed a copy of the Psalms to an aged kadi. He examined it long in

silence, then broke into exclamations of delight: "This is worth diamonds; it goes into the depths of the heart," and insisted on paying double the price that was asked. "I cannot believe that Christ died," said a schoolmaster; "it is a shame to think that He suffered death;" and when it was explained to him that the sacrifice of Christ was our redemption, "This," he rejoined, "is love indeed, and His death was precious."

The great tours became more frequent and adventurous, and despite his precarious health, Mr Mackintosh himself was ever in the forefront of the field work. The Scriptures were carried to the villages in the romantic mountains of the Beni Huzmar, while across the valley crackled the rifles of the fighting tribesmen. Year after year the tents were pitched some stages nearer to the ungovernable hill-town of Shawin, which no European had entered except in disguise or under cover of darkness. All down the coast from Ceuta to Mazagan, Casa Blanca and Mogador, the colporteur and his books were familiar to Jew and Mohammedan; and from one seaport to another repeated trips were made to the inland cities—Fez, which was fast becoming a centre of Gospel light; Mequinez; Marakesh, the capital, encircled with green palm-groves and fruitful orchards under the eternal snow-fields of Atlas; and, still further east, Demnet and Tassimsit, where Mr Miller explored the caves said to have been dug out of the solid rock by the Early Christians. The vestiges of those vanished believers were the romance of Bible-work in Morocco. Mr Mackintosh lived in hope that somewhere among the inaccessible Berber tribes of the Atlas ranges some living heritage of the ancient faith might still linger. "Occasional rumours," he wrote, "have reached me from various quarters of tribes being found, or heard of, who still possess dim traditions of their once having been Christians and a more than ordinary desire to obtain the blessed book that reveals Him. Some are

reported to have an idea of Christ as 'the Good Shepherd,' and to know something also about 'the Cross.'" A circulation of 5844 copies in the year 1896-97—3551 in Arabic, 1079 in Hebrew, and 1214 in various other tongues—represented the progress which had gradually been made in these dark regions of El Maghreb el Aksa, "the Extreme West."

After a visit to Marakesh in the burning summer of 1888, Mr and Mrs Mackintosh, accompanied by the devout missionary Captain Anderson, crossed to Grand Canary and Teneriffe. The group of islands was added to the agency, and towards the end of the following year Mr Barker was placed in charge. He found that books given long ago by English and American visitors were still preserved and read. A few of the Spanish priests were friendly; most were hostile, and burned—sometimes before the school children—any copies of the Scriptures they could lay hands on. In one town the Bibleman was denounced as an emissary of Satan, and the alcalde threatened him with imprisonment; but little heed was paid to these menaces, and numbers of the islanders disregarded those of the clergy. On Barker's health failing in 1891, Mr Searle started a Sailors' Home at the port of Las Palmas, and colported for the Society on board the ocean liners and the numberless ships of all nations; and in 1892 Mr M'Garva, a young Scot, was appointed to Santa Cruz, on Teneriffe. The excellent work carried on in these islands was interrupted by the excitement of the Spanish-American war. Mr Searle and his wife were transferred to Brazil to assist Senhor dos Santos, but after a few months' stay in England Mr M'Garva returned to his post. During the eight and a half years, 1889 to 1898, 16,000 copies of the Scriptures, chiefly in Spanish, were distributed in the group.

In 1900 the Society lost in Mr Mackintosh a prudent, courageous and whole-hearted servant. His health had never been robust, and had been severely taxed by the

climate. He went to Matlock in January, hoping to return to Africa after a few weeks' rest; but he grew worse, paralysis supervened, and on the 25th May, tended to the last by the beloved companion of his toils and travels, he passed away at the age of sixty-four. Before his time the Churches had scarcely turned their thoughts to the evangelisation of Morocco. During his seventeen years' service upwards of 81,000 copies of Scripture, in more than a dozen languages, were circulated in the agency, and nearly eighty members of the North African Mission, the London Jews Society, the Missions for Southern and Central Morocco, and the Gospel Union of Kansas City were at work in the Empire.

He was succeeded by Mr William Summers, whose name has been mentioned in connection with a proposed Southern Shilha version, but who had been selected in 1892 to break new ground for the North African Mission in Egypt. The agency was now divided into four districts: the North, which included the Riff and extended south to Mequinez, under the charge of Mr Barnard; the Coast, from Sallee to Agadir, under Salîm Mirshak of Damascus, who had served ten years; the Marakesh and Atlas, under Mr W. Miller; and the Canaries, where Mr M'Garva had the whole group for his care, and a seamen's missionary attended to the shipping.

Several interesting events marked the year 1901—the Sultan's acceptance of a large Arabic Bible, bound in red and gold by the Society and presented by Mr A. Lennox of the South Morocco Mission; the preparation of a Gospel in Shlu; a journey into Atlas with Mrs Isabella Bishop; and the employment, for the first time, of native Christian colporteurs. This last was a perilous experiment, for in Morocco religious liberty was unknown, and a Moor professed Christianity at the risk of life itself. One of the three men chosen was an ex-artillery officer—"El Kaid" ("the Captain"), the only name by which he was called—who had been led to the Saviour ten years before by Aisa Farah.

1902 was packed with sorrow, tragic losses, and perplexity. Mrs Summers died on the 27th April, leaving five little children;[1] in August El Kaid, denounced as renegade and infidel, was done to death by a Moorish rabble in the streets of Laraish; and in the autumn Mr D. J. Cooper of the North African Mission, a valued co-operator in the agency, was shot in the market at Fez by a Wadaya fanatic, who came from his village for the express purpose of killing the Christians. The Sultan, Mulai Abd-ul Bezeez, took unprecedented action. The murderer was dragged from the security of a Moslem shrine, judged, flogged, exhibited in the streets, and publicly shot.[2] In the closing weeks of the year a formidable rebellion broke out in the mountain region east of Fez. The insurgent leader Ben Hamara professed to be preparing the way for "the Man of the Hour," who should overthrow the ruling dynasty, and restore Islam to its ancient splendour.

The insurrection spread like wild-fire. Missionaries and other Europeans were warned by the Legations to seek safety in the coast towns. Prisoners from the rebel tribes were brought in to Fez laden with human heads, which were hung at the city gates as a terror to the disaffected. Men were sold like beasts in the slave-market. The issue seemed so doubtful that at Mogador people besought the lady missionaries to take back Gospels and Testaments, lest the Pretender should proclaim a jehad or holy war, and they should be ruined by the discovery of the books. Yet there was a brighter side to those days of trial and danger. The Gospel of St Luke in Maghrebi, a debased Arabic, which was the *lingua franca* of "the West," was prepared by the Gospel Missionary Union, largely at the expense of the

[1] As Ruby Fletcher, Mrs Summers worked among the East London poor; joined Miss Herdman and the lady missionaries at Fez in 1890; and two years later married and accompanied Mr Summers to Egypt.

[2] The Sultan presented Mrs Cooper with £1000 as an expression of personal regret, and provided for her safe conveyance to the coast.

Society,[1] and printed in 1902 at Kansas City in the modified Kufic script as it had survived from the palmy days of Islam. The Gospel of St John in Sûsiya, translated by Cuthbert Nairn and David Muir of the South Morocco Mission, was almost ready for publication in 1904.

In the last year of the period one heard of a number of conversions among Moors and Jews in the coast towns, and of a spirit of inquiry stirring the young Moslems of the University of Fez. Beyond the confines of Morocco stretched the Sahara with its nomad population. From the tract between the Niger and Senegal one jet-black fakih, a pilgrim in search of truth, had crossed the Desert, on foot, without money, to Mogador. It was the dream of the agents for Morocco and West Africa to bring all this unexplored wilderness within the pale of the Society.

During the twenty years 115,732 copies of Scripture were circulated in the Morocco Agency.

We pass to the sister agency of Algeria.

"A diamond set in emerald," the city of Algiers rises from its bright blue bay in dazzling white terraces against the bright green slopes of the sea-board hills. Four streets back from the quays, the central depôt stood in the Rue de Tanger, with its name blazoned in seven languages. On its shelves the Scriptures were stocked in some thirteen more. Before the windows knots of people were constantly pausing to glance at the books in their native tongues—Frenchmen and Spaniards, Zouaves and Turcos, civil and military interpreters, Jews and Arabs, Berber peasants, sailors from "the seven seas," Kabyles and Mozabites. There was hardly a day but some one entered to purchase, to make inquiries; while frequently letters ordering copies were received from the interior.

It was a picture in little of the races, tongues, creeds,

[1] The Society contributed £203 towards the cost of the translation.

among which lay the work of Mr Löwitz's small staff—from four to seven men, who were stationed at Algiers and Oran, Constantine and Tunis, and who made long excursions to the French settlements, the native towns and villages, the fairs and markets in the broad belt of fertile country, the "Tell," between the sea and the high table-land which shut off the Sahara. And from these changing groups at the depôt windows it was easy to guess the difficulties—the widespread illiteracy, the hostility of rabbi, mufti and priest—with which the colporteurs had to contend. Many a cheering incident, however, gave them hope and heart. An Arabic Testament was sold to a saintly marabout in his mosque. "I have been away two days," said a priest as he bought a French Bible, "and I am glad that you took my place." "Our children will read them to us," explained the eager purchasers in a small village. "The Injil I know already; it is there," said a Moor, pointing to his breast. "It is the story and teaching of Sidna Aisa (the Lord Jesus), of Him only, that I wish to read," said another Mohammedan, as he brought back his Bible for a New Testament. Like the merchant seeking for goodly pearls, a negro hurried away to sell something that he might obtain the price of the sacred book.

From Tunis, where a supply of Scriptures was kept by the North African missionaries, the Word of Life was carried to Bizerta; inland to Beja, Wednesday Market (Souk-el-Arbaa), and El Kef, site of the ancient evil city of the Asiatic Venus; and down the east coast of the Regency to Susa and Sfax.

In 1887 the first Bibleman entered the Sahara. Hiring camel and guide, Colporteur Kohli rode 120 miles out into the Great Desert until lo, on the seventh day, Tuggurt on its hill, with the towers and domes of many mosques crowning the flat-roofed houses of sun-dried bricks, in bright relief against a hundred thousand palms! The Agha

received him hospitably, and copies in Arabic and French were freely sold in the market-place to the native garrison and the gaily-clothed inhabitants.

Tripoli was included in the agency, but had not been visited apparently since Mr Fenner's time (1869). In the spring of 1888 Mr Löwitz landed with a colporteur; passed his books through the custom-house with the help of the British Consul, Mr F. Drummond Hay; and disposed in ten days of 150 copies to Jews, Turks, Arabs and Roman Catholics, whose curiosity was excited by the warnings of their priests. The place was not ready for a resident colporteur, but a year later a member of the North African Mission settled there, and a stock of Scriptures was placed in his charge.

From time to time the arrival of additional missionaries widened the opportunities of the Society which had prepared the way for them; and in 1889 two colporteurs of the Société Evangélique of Geneva were heartily welcomed to a share in the work, for which it was almost impossible to find all the helpers that were needed.

Upwards of 26,000 copies of Scripture were circulated in the first five years of the period; for the next five the figures were 42,600; but the most satisfactory sign of progress was the increasing demand, amid the Babel of tongues, for the Arabic and Hebrew versions.

On the 27th August 1893, at the age of sixty-nine, Mr Löwitz died suddenly at Aix-les-Bains, whither he had gone for rest and change. He had given the best of his life to the service of Christ in Algeria; and at the moment his remains were laid to rest in a French grave, Moslem and Jew, Roman Catholic and Protestant gathered in prayer round his widow in Algiers, and no words were spoken more touching or sincere than those which fell from the lips of a native Mohammedan.

His assistant, Mr May, was appointed to succeed him.

Early in the following spring Mr Major Paull and Mr G. T. Edwards made a long tour of inspection, which greatly added to the strength and efficiency of the agency. The Committee sanctioned the employment of two Biblewomen, one at Tunis, the other in the capital. Colporteur Barbera, who had served for thirteen years in Sicily, was transferred to Tunis, where, a little later, the supply of Scriptures, hitherto kept in private houses, was superseded by a display of the Society's versions in a new depôt. A colporteur was stationed at Sfax, as the centre of a district extending to Tripoli ; and in 1895, thanks to his work among the Greek sponge-fishers established along the coast, Greek appeared for the first time among the current languages of the agency. Special provision was made for reaching the colonists from Alsace, settled in a thousand villages without church or pastor. The Bible Committee at Algiers was reorganised and enlarged, and Sir Lambert Playfair, the British Consul-General, accepted office as chairman. At Oran the vacancy which had just been caused by the retirement of Mr Moses Benoliel after some twenty years' service, was filled by one of the Geneva colporteurs, who spoke French, Arabic and Spanish, the tongues of three-fourths of the population.

It was with intense interest that Messrs Paull and Edwards visited Tizi-Ouzou, "the Gorge of the Broom," amid the wild grandeur of the Djur-djura. Christianity once illumined these mountains. It was trampled out in the Saracen Conquest, and nothing now survived of the ancient faith except perhaps the cross which Kabyle girls tattoo on their arms and faces.[1] The narrow villages were perched on the crests and sharp spurs of the range, and the white minaret of the mosque glittered over the red tiles of the low huts of mud and stone. The Kabyle Gospel of

[1] In the Aures chain their kinsmen the Chawia still observe, among other customs that tell of a Christian ancestry, the feast of "The Birth" (El Moolid) on the 25th December.—Playfair, *Handbook of Algeria*, p. 225.

St John had been issued in 1885, but the number of readers was very small, and such copies as were needed reached them for the most part through the hands of the missionaries.

In course of time the way was prepared for a larger circulation by the success of their teaching, and by the work of the Franco-Kabyle schools, which the Government had opened in various centres. Meanwhile, in God's good providence, the Rev. Eugène Cuendet of the North African Mission took up the task of translation into Kabyli; St Mark had been published by the Society in 1893; and St Luke appeared about the time of Mr Paull's visit. St Matthew and the Acts left the press in 1895, and in that year Ali Ou N'cer, a young Kabyle convert, offered himself as the bearer of the Gospel message to his countrymen. An Alpine tract of seventy villages was marked out for his district. He toiled through the woods up to the houses on the summits; cries of "Apostate!" greeted him as he entered the Jemaa, the public hall, where the men gossiped and took their siesta on the stone benches along the sides; fanatics refused him food and shelter for the night. But Ali passed from village to village, preaching Christ and reading the story of Bethlehem and Calvary in the familiar mountain tongue. On one of his journeys the Lady Superior and sisters at a Roman Catholic mission station received him with much kindness, and ordered a number of Kabyle Gospels, which he was glad to bring them on a later visit. The diligence by which he travelled on another occasion was swept away in a flooded river. He cut the traces and freed the horses; saved the mail-bag, and rode with it to the post-office at Mekla—a gallant service, for which the Governor-General honoured him with an official certificate that stood him in great stead in his wanderings. He was happy in seeing some fruit of his labours. "A religion which causes such a change in the life of men like Ali and others, who are now so happy and bright, is surely a true one," said the son of a

Kabyle chief, with whom he had often prayed and read the Bible; "henceforth I too will believe in Jesus as my Saviour."

The Epistle to the Romans was ready for circulation in 1899; the Epistles to the Corinthians in 1900; Galatians–Revelation in 1901. The old text of St John, edited by Dr Sauerwein, was revised; and the eight Portions, bound together, formed the New Testament in Kabyli. In 1902 the yearly sales ran into four figures. Copies were bought as lesson-books for the schools. Stirred by the energy of western life, the marabouts taught the Kabyle lads the Arabic character, and for these a transliteration of St Luke was in progress as the period drew to a close. In all 8176 copies of Scripture were issued in Kabyli.[1]

On his appointment as agent, Mr May looked to the south for regions where the colporteur was unknown. In November 1894 he crossed the Hauts Plateaux—an immense tract of table-land dotted with the huts of the Spaniards who harvest the alpha grass; reached the oasis of El Aghouat, where all the caravan roads of the Sahara converge; traversed "the region of the dayas" (pockets which the rain had filled with enough soil to grow large pistachio and jujub trees); and at last, 400 miles from the coast, arrived at Ghardaia, the confederate capital of the Beni M'zab—a pyramid of white houses flaming at the peak into a red minaret.

Ages ago the Mozabites were expelled as heretics from Arabia. They streamed across Africa, but persecution drove them on until they came to the Desert and founded their first white pyramid town in the eleventh century. Through some oversight the French commander-in-chief failed to forward Mr May's credentials, and as the captain in charge feared an outbreak of fanaticism, the sale of Scriptures was

[1] Various guesses have been made as to the meaning of the word "Kabyle." Some see in it a record of Phœnician idolatry—"K-Baal" = worshippers of Baal; others derive it more naturally from "Gebel" or mountain,—Gebels or Kabyles = mountaineers.—Boissier, *Roman Africa*, p. 37.

forbidden. But many interesting conversations took place with Jews and Moslems, and after spying out the land, the agent returned to Algiers through Bou-Saâda and Aumale. The distribution on the way was not large; but two routes had now been followed as far as the palm-clustered towns of the Sahara, and at a later date Biskra, El Oued, Tuggurt, El Aghouat, and Ghardaia became not uncommon names in the Reports, and there also "many of the Arabs, when buying a copy, would kiss it, saying, 'Jesus is the Spirit of God.'"

For some time before the death of Mr Löwitz all Evangelical work in Algeria and the Regency had been the subject of bitter attack in the French press; and although the Society was not directly mentioned, its colporteurs and others connected with it were exposed to sharp opposition and abuse. In 1897 official intolerance in Tunis became an absolute scandal. The colportage of all religious publications was prohibited, and more than one missionary was fined for disregarding the order. During the anti-Semitic agitation at Algiers the Society's men were harassed as traitors and foreign spies. These perturbations and suspicions gradually subsided, but Jesuit influence was so completely in the ascendant at Tunis that even the lending of religious books was penalised, and the protests which the French pastors addressed to the Resident produced no effect.

Barbera and Kohli ceased selling in the streets, but they went from house to house, and worked in the endless souks (bazaars) crowded with buyers, sellers, and idlers; while the Biblewoman visited hundreds of families, distributing the volumes of her circulating library of Scriptures, and teaching scores of girls how to read them. From 1897 Barbera made frequent excursions to the Islands of Pantellaria, Lampedusa, and Favignana, in the Italian Agency; small missionary depôts were formed at Susa, Kerouan, and other towns; Tripoli was occasionally visited; and in 1899, for the first time, the Word of God was circulated in Ben-

Ghazi, the ancient Berenice in the fabled garden-land of the Hesperides, 400 miles east of Tripoli.[1] In these later years the Society published St Luke and the Acts (3000 copies) adapted from Van Dyck's Arabic version by the Rev. C. F. W. Flad to the dialect of the Tunisian Jews.

Official changes brought about a more satisfactory condition of things both in Algeria and the Regency, and the appointment of broader-minded statesmen both as Governor-General and Resident contributed to the tranquillity of the country and the progress of Bible-work.

At the close of 1902 Algeria and Morocco were thrown together as a single agency—the North African—under the direction of Mr Summers, with Mr May as his assistant at Algiers. How much the outlook had changed since the appointment of the first agent! During the twenty years 204,350 copies of the inspired Word were circulated, and of these all but 4482 were purchased. Besides a number of missionaries, either independent or connected with anonymous committees, six recognised Protestant missions were at work in the field,[2] and with these and the Geneva Society the agency was more or less intimately associated.

Thus in the vast region of the vanished North African Churches was waged the great struggle for the souls of men between the book which proclaimed: "Christ died for us," and the book which taught: "They did not kill Him; neither did they crucify Him, but one that appeared like unto Him."[3]

The expenditure on the Morocco Agency amounted to £15,131, that on the Algerian to £16,240. The receipts from both did not exceed £4213.

[1] On the voyage to Ben-Ghazi Barbera passed near the Greater Quicksand, on which the east-north-easter threatened to drive St Paul's ship. Farther along the coast to the east lay Cyrene, the city of Simon, who helped to carry the Lord's cross.

[2] The North African Mission, with about fifty men and nine stations; the Mission of the French Methodist Church; the Swedish Missionary Alliance; the French Mission connected with the "Reveil d'Israel"; and the Société d'Évangélisation des Colonies Françaises.

[3] *The Koran*, chap. iv.

CHAPTER LVI

RUSSIA AND SIBERIA (I.)

As we enter upon the final period of our survey of Russia, two events recall the beginnings of Christianity among the Slavonic tribes, and mark the connection of the Society's work with the earliest missionary effort to spread among them the knowledge of the Bible. The millennial commemoration of the completed labours of SS. Cyril and Methodius was observed in 1885, and thousands of Slav pilgrims repaired to their shrine in the little Moravian town of Welehrad. To these apostolic brothers Russia owed its alphabet,[1] and the Orthodox Church its first translation of the Scriptures. It was they who vindicated the right of the Slav people to possess the Word of God and to hold divine service in their mother-tongue. In July 1888 the cities and villages of the Empire united in celebrating the ninth centenary of that strange historic scene at Kief, when —the Dnieper having dashed Perun the Idol down its cataracts—the people ceased wailing "Come back, come back to us"; and thronging in the summer dawn to the banks of the great river, plunged at a given signal into its waters. Neck-deep, breast-deep, men and women held their babes aloft in their hands, and boys and girls crowded in the shallows, while the Byzantine priests, on anchored

[1] Remodelled slightly, with the omission of a few unnecessary characters, by Peter the Great. But the Slavs in the days of Cyril were, however, not wholly "unlettered."—*See* Taylor, *The Alphabet*, vol. ii. pp. 201-202.

rafts, pronounced the sacramental form, and Vladimir and his Greek bride on the shore wept for joy over the baptism of his nation.[1]

From these far-off beginnings we turn to the modern work. If hitherto the expansion of the Russian agencies had been marvellous, what shall we say of their development in the concluding period? During the fifty-six years from 1828 to 1884 the Russian issues, as we have seen, amounted to 4,733,953 copies of Scripture. The circulation of the next decade outstripped that aggregate by some 20,000 copies. The precise figure was 4,758,786; and it signified that of the entire circulation of the Society at home and abroad from March 1884 to March 1894, one copy in every eight went to supply the spiritual needs of the dominions of the Czar. No other country in the world was blessed in that interval with such a distribution. The ratio for the eight Indian Auxiliaries (which came nearest) was one in ten, that for Germany one in twelve, while in France it was not higher than one in twenty-two.

In the six divisions, west of the Urals, comprised in the field of the Northern Agency, there was little to record in these ten years beyond the incessant energy of production and the steady growth of circulation. From the steppes of Saratov to the shores of the White Sea, the Russ Scriptures were dispersed more widely year after year among the towns and scattered villages. The sixpenny New Testament, inscribed "To the Russian People," was ready a few months after Mr Sharp's visit, and distribution began in 1884. The six-hundredth thousand was reached in July 1888, and in the course of that year Mr Nicolson, unfortunately absent in Finland, was invited to the inauguration of "a great printing press" which the Holy Synod had set up in St Petersburg to enable it to keep pace with its huge contracts. In 1893, the tenth year of publication, 1,007,000 copies of the

[1] Paris, *La Chronique de Nestor*, vol. i. pp. 134-135.

Testament had been issued, and yet another reprint of 50,000 was in the press. Nor was this the only edition which attained an extensive popularity. The large type of an octavo volume of the Psalms attracted the Russian soldier, and the Four Gospels in parallel Slav and Russ were largely used in schools to accustom the young to read and compare the *zerkovny* or liturgical version with the modern text. Nothing, probably, could give a more impressive notion of the labour and responsibility attached to the routine of the agency than the magnitude of its transactions with the Holy Synod. In 1892, for instance, 326,500 copies of various editions were purchased from that august body at a cost of £10,805, and in the following year the number was 510,500, and the price £15,600.

Notwithstanding the vast distances, the terrible winters, and the dearth of efficient men, colportage was carried on with encouraging success. Occasionally suspicion of political combinations led to the delay or refusal of permits, and the Society found it necessary to explain how strictly its employés were held aloof from party questions of every description; but, in the north, these checks and hindrances appear to have been exceptional, and for the most part the authorities showed the most courteous consideration to all connected with the work. In St Petersburg and Moscow, where colportage was not permitted, distribution was effected by means of licensed hawkers. Hawkers, too, were employed in other parts of the agency, and some of them disposed of their 3000 or 4000 copies annually. In five years (1890-94) Maria Andreevna, "the Moscow Biblewoman," who belonged to the same class, sold as many as 20,600 New Testaments and Portions. The number of hawkers at this time varied from thirteen to twenty-one, and the number of colporteurs from fifteen to five-and-twenty.

As one traced on the map the journeys of the latter, the ground covered by the small staff seemed astonishing. Here

in Finland, while Sandberg and Thesslund sold their 5000 volumes each in the wildly picturesque region of swamp and forest and lake up to Kuopio, the sailor Ekholm pushed on to Tornea, Harapanda, and the sparsely peopled tracts around Kemitrask and east of Uleaborg; and in later days Merilainen, who had long wandered from tent to grass-roofed hut collecting old songs and folk-tales, used his knowledge of the northern land to carry the Word of God to its almost inaccessible homesteads. Everywhere the men were welcomed as "friends of the country," and their toil was lightened by the grant of free railway tickets for themselves and their supplies of books. In the ten years 313,350 Bibles, Testaments and Portions were circulated in Finland; and one volume in about every six copies was a Bible.

Similarly, in the Baltic Provinces and Lithuania, where in addition to the Riga depôt and the eight sub-depôts of the agency the Riga Evangelical Society was at work; in the vast expanses of the St Petersburg Division, where, east, north or south, there was no city of importance within 400 miles of the capital; in the difficult South Eastern Division, in which, for lack of a central town suitable for an agency station, the booksellers were supplied from Moscow and the villages were travelled by the Saratov and Samara men; finally, in the Valley of the Volga, with its brightly coloured panorama of traffic and pilgrimage, the colporteurs were constantly passing to and fro, like shuttles in a stupendous loom, weaving threads of gold into the grey lives of the people. The privileges of free freight and passage, regularly renewed by the old trading companies and multiplied by new ones, testified to the high public esteem in which the work of the Society was held; and, in course of time, as the great railway lines were acquired by the State, the action of the Ministry of Inland Transit in franking men and goods throughout the Empire practically set upon it the seal of a national subsidy.

Most encouraging of all was the predisposition of the people at large towards the Holy Scriptures. One of a company of pilgrims—a soldier—on the way to St Spask, "the town of the Saviour," ran up to the colporteur, and "embraced" a large-type copy of the New Testament and Psalms. "Will you sell this book?" he asked. "That is why I am here," was the reply; and the soldier began to sign himself with the cross, exclaiming joyfully, "Long have I wished to get this book, but have had no chance." Then he gave the colporteur his rouble, with the earnest words, "Lord, help me to understand this book." "Meet a soldier, meet a friend," had become a Bibleman's proverb, but all that happened in this instance — the devout uncovering of the head, the signing of the cross, the kissing of the book, the prayer for light and guidance—was what happened every day when the Russian peasant bought the Word of God. "I will love it like my own heart," said a poor woman of Saratov, pressing the Bible to her bosom; "little can I spare, but never saw I a copy so cheap as this." In Courland a schoolboy died, and the Testament which he read and loved was tenderly laid beside him in his coffin. In 1893 even prisoners in Moscow Central Jail, in which the Society had provided a Bible Library in many languages, commissioned their chief warder to buy French, German, Polish and Turkish Scriptures for them with their own money.

In many places Greek priest or Lutheran pastor proved an effective friend and helper, — took his stand, perhaps, beside the colporteur in the market-place and urged the crowd to buy. Here and there, indeed, some less liberal spirit might utter a word of warning against "the foreign society." "These books ought not to be bought," cried a pope on one of the Volga steamers; "they are Pashkovite";[1]

[1] Pashkovism was the popular Russian form of the evangelical teaching of Lord Radstock. For some account of its effects and of the rigorous action of M. Pobiedonostseff, Procurator of the Holy Synod, *see* Leroy-Beaulieu, *The Empire of the Tsars*, vol. iii. pp. 471-474.

but a reply came promptly from a Russian traveller who was purchasing a Hebrew-Russ Bible: "Batoushka, I know what I am saying; this Society circulates only the pure Word of God, and has great loss in doing the work." Or the colporteur might meet with some of the Starovieri, or Old Believers[1] — people who thought that a Gospel in the vulgar tongue would "desecrate the house and bring bad luck," who even refused to eat with men who carried Scriptures in which the name of the Saviour was misspelt, and each chapter did not begin with a red letter. Or a depositary might have to listen to an attack on the English ("London the refuge of the Nihilists")—to which what better answer could there be than the People's New Testament: "The English print this book at the press of the Holy Synod; it costs them thirty-four copecks, and they sell it to the Russian people for twenty-five copecks"? These, however, were but casual incidents. The desire for the Scriptures was so earnest and so general that neither the cruel famine of 1891-92, nor the epidemic which was its sequel, can be said to have checked the circulation of the agency.

The progress of version work during the ten years may be briefly noted. M. Saleman's version of St Mark in Kazan Tartar or Turki appeared in 1886. Like the Gospel of St Matthew it was printed in Arabic characters for the benefit of the Mohammedan tribesmen, but the phrase with which the first chapter opened, "Jesus Christ, the Son of God," was a direct challenge to the faith of Islam and greatly retarded the sale. In 1892 the Four Gospels were

[1] Opponents of the liturgical reforms introduced by the Patriarch Nikon (17th century). The spelling of the name "Jesus" (the Old Believers insisted on "Isus"), the manner of crossing oneself ("With two fingers," said the Dissenters, "to signify the divine and human nature in Christ; the three other fingers bent down to represent the Trinity": "Nay, with three fingers," said the Orthodox—"to indicate the Trinity; the two other fingers bent down to signify the dual nature"), the westward or eastward movement of processions, the shape of the crucifix, the inscription upon it, and similar details were the controversial matters which divided the Church. —Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.* vol. iii. pp. 287-288.

ready for the press, but the censor objected to their publication in Arabic instead of Russian type, and especially to the use of Arabic forms for proper names and of Arabic expressions for which there were no equivalents in Kazan Turki. No further steps were taken ; Ilminski's Psalter was already in circulation, and in 1893 the issue, in Russian characters, of the Four Gospels translated by M. Bobrovnikoff, his successor as Rector in the Kazan Teachers' Institute, enabled the agency to obtain such supplies as were required for its work among the Tartar population round Kazan.

The Four Gospels in Kalmuk were available in 1887. In the summer of that year M. Pozdnejeff made his third journey to the steppes west of the Lower Volga to test his translation. He took with him his MS. of the Acts and 200 copies of the Gospels, which were heartily welcomed by the Bishop of Astrakhan, the Chief Inspector and Guardian of the Kalmuk tribes, the missionary society of the Orthodox Church, the Ecclesiastical Seminary and the Kalmuk schools. He read his version of the Acts in several of the nomad camps, and was encouraged by the favourable criticism of a number of Buddhist priests, who listened earnestly to a book so new and strange to them. After three more visits the completion of the New Testament was published in 1894.

In 1892 arrangements were made for the issue of the Gospel of St John in Moksha Mordoff, translated by a Russian priest named Bärsoff and revised by Docent H. Paasonen ; but difficulties arose as to its authorisation by the censor, and in 1895 the edition of 1000 copies was stored at the printing office of the Finnish Literary Society at Helsingfors.

In connection with this branch of the agency's operations it may be mentioned that in 1890 the University of Helsingfors conferred on Mr Nicolson the degree of Ph.D. in recognition of his attainments in philology.

As in former years the St Petersburg committee were ever

ready to strengthen the hands of the agent with their counsel and co-operation; and on its part the Society promptly responded to the necessities of the poor and assisted the efforts of the benevolent. Of the many free grants, however, one only need be noticed. On the 10th August 1888 an accident turned a furious dust storm into a hurricane of flame which devastated Orenburg. Ten thousand people were left homeless, and the Samara and Saratov men, who assisted in administering relief, distributed among them close upon 6000 copies of the New Testament and Psalms.

We cross the Urals into Asiatic Russia. In Siberia the true day has broken. The workers are still few, but we can follow them, mere specks in the illimitable landscape, lengthening the cords and strengthening the stakes of the vast agency. Passing through the three famous border stations, "Europa," "Ural," "Asia," Perk and Osipof are busy along the railway route to Ekaterinburg, visit the great fair at Irbit, scatter the seed in some thousands of Gospels among the half-pagan Woguls and Ostiaks. At Tomsk, 400 leagues to the eastward, the booksellers Mikhailof and Makushin sell their 1300 or 1400 copies a year. From Tashkent in the deserts of the south, Jacob Hamm, one of Johann Bartsch's friends, works up for weeks together through the Kirghiz camps and the Russian military posts to Vernoé, Kopal, Semipalatinsk of "the seven stone houses," Barnaul — disposing of about 600 copies on his journey to his colportage area around Irkutsk. From Irkutsk, half way across the huge continent, Baron Wrede makes his first Bible tour eastward. Far away beyond the "holy sea" of Baikal, a lofty church, dazzlingly white, magnificent with domes, shines on the high ground. From its tower one looks down on Kiachta, a small cluster of houses between sandhills and fir-trees; on Troitzkosavsk, hardly three miles away; and just across the Chinese border, on Maimatchin ("Buy-and-sell Town"), in which women

and little children are unknown. This is the Kiachta of George Borrow's daydreams, the Russo-Mongol gateway to the sandy plains over which the caravan track of the tea-traders passes into the heart of China. The Baron opens a sub-depôt at Kiachta, leaves a supply of Scriptures at Troitzkosavsk, and returns by way of the old mission station and the lonely graveyard at Selenginsk. In 1885 the generosity of a Siberian merchant enables him to explore the valley of the Lena, "the Sluggard of Waters." The colporteurs of the Russian Bible Society have forestalled him at Yakutsk, but he leaves a small stock of Scriptures with the chief of police for convicts and exiles. At Olekminsk he sells largely among the Skoptsi or Eunuch sect, some of whom he finds earnest believers, while others are "embittered against religion by discovering that they have been the victims of illusion." In all he circulates 4000 copies; and this six months' journey is his last service, for family affairs call him back to Finland.

Franz Bartsch, with his family, has moved up to Semipalatinsk, a fresh centre of distribution. In 1886 he meets Mr Nicolson at Omsk, the new capital of Western Siberia, perched on the clay bluffs at the confluence of the Om and Irtish. The authorities are gracious; a depôt is opened; and Franz is installed, with a free pass for the steamers between Omsk and Tiumen. Woelke and Wiebe, his brothers-in-law, join him, and colportage radiates from Omsk across the flat treeless and stoneless steppe—the clay bed of an ancient sea—to Ishim, Tinkalinsk, Kurgan, Irbit on the west, to Kainsk on the east, to Ust Kamenogorsk ("Stony Hill Town") at the foot of the Altai range. It is a life of hardship: the mercury is 40 degrees below zero (Réaumur), but Franz runs behind his sledge half the night to save himself from frost-bite. And of peril: "In the evening, about six o'clock," he writes, "we left for Krutoje. After we had travelled some eight versts, we saw a sledge

on the road with five or six men standing about it. They called to us to stop, but the driver made a little circuit, and rushed past at full speed. The men jumped into their sledge and pursued. We urged the horse to its utmost, but they still managed to keep up with us until we arrived at Krutoje, where we took shelter. The revolver is in almost every man's hand here."

By this time the railway extends to Tiumen, and it is decided that in future a regular and complete distribution shall be made among the convoys of exiles[1] before they embark on the great waterways to Eastern Siberia. Franz Sandberg, whom we have heard of in Finland and who is about to take charge of the Irkutsk depôt, superintends the first distribution in June 1887. The prisoners are drawn up in small squares; each answers the question, "Gramotnie?" ["Can you read?"], and those who can read are presented alternately with the Four Gospels and the Psalter. The soldiers, too, who form the guard on the steamer are given copies. Sandberg reaches Irkutsk in July; another colporteur from Finland and a retired Finland official arrive as assistants at the end of 1888, and in January 1889 he sets out for the ultimate East. For the first time a regular agent of the Society crosses the Yablonoi or Apple-tree Mountains to Chita and Stretinsk, sails down the Amur to Nikolaevsk, and lands in Saghalien. There the exiles have lost heart and hope; "it is too late for them to try to be better, and they are unwilling to make the trial"; yet during the fortnight he is there he sells about 170 copies. From Saghalien the steamer takes him to Vladivostock, the extreme point of his enterprise. In the course of the long journey 3618 copies of the Word of Life are distributed; everywhere the prisons have been

[1] In 1888 the exiles passing through numbered 11,824, and there were distributed 3580 copies of Scripture, including 50 Polish New Testaments, and 177 in other languages than Russian.

visited, and new friends have been secured for the cause. After seventy years the vision of Morrison, the solitary missionary in the British factory at Canton, is in some measure made a reality;[1] the circuit from Blackfriars through Russia and Siberia to Japan and China has at length been completed.

Over the whole of these Asiatic regions the old order is rapidly changing under the influences of Western life, and it is as a part of the general movement and advance that the work of the Society enters on a fresh and important stage. In June 1889 Ekaterinburg, situated in the midst of large industries—mining, iron-smelting, gold-washing—and a rich traffic in precious stones, is made the headquarters of a new sub-agency; and Mr Walter Davidson, assistant to Mr Nicolson since 1886, is placed in control of the depôts and colportage in the Government of Perm, Siberia and Turkestan. A year later his responsibility is lightened, for the progress of new lines of railway brings Bokhara and Tashkent within easier access from Tiflis, and the whole of Central Asia, up to 46 degrees north—a line running a few miles above the chain of Russian forts along the Syr Darya—is annexed to the Odessa Agency.

This ceded ground was Johann Bartsch's territory. Scarcely a Tartar town, a Russian fort, outpost or settlement between the romantic hill-country under the everlasting snow of Thian Shan and the shores of Lake Aral but was visited by him or some of the young Mennonites who took service under him. The Scriptures were sold in Kuldja and Vernoé and Auli Ata, in Chemkend, Andijan, Khokand, Khojend, in Tcharjui and Khiva, and far away south in the oasis of Merv. At one place a Tartar fanatic who had stirred up the people might exult: "Yesterday thou didst sell thy *Injil* (Evangel), but to-day thou wilt sell none"; at another a Mohammedan greybeard might have tea

[1] Vol. i. p. 121.

and sugar-cakes set before the colporteurs while he put on his spectacles and read from the books. The *arba* was wrecked on a journey to Karakol, where for miles the road was a narrow ledge far down the precipice and a thousand feet above the turbulent Chu River. In the long waste between Kazalinsk and Petro-Alexandrovsk Johann himself was deserted by his Kirghiz guide. The camels had been allowed to stray among the sandhills; the Kirghiz had gone to look for them; night had fallen. "I now became anxious and afraid," wrote Johann, "as I thought perhaps he had lost his way in the steppe, where, strictly speaking, no real way is. I could do nothing, as I should lose myself much sooner than he could. Committing myself and the Kirghiz into the keeping of the Lord, I laid me down to rest so completely alone in the steppe, on the borders of the great Desert, Kizil Kum. In prayer I felt myself to be under the protection of my Saviour; so I fell asleep." The sale of Kirghiz Testaments, which was at first large, declined in later years, but among the Russian troops scattered over the country the colporteur was always welcome. After the new division was drawn in 1890 the aged pioneer yielded to failing health, and retired to the colony of his co-religionists at Auli Ata, under the western spur of the Iskander Mountains. During the eight years that the Tashkent depôt had been in his charge 27,886 copies of the Word of God were distributed in a variety of tongues, and several of the colporteurs he had trained passed over to the Siberian depôts.

Mr Davidson set himself at once to the work of organisation and development. Accompanied part of the way by Dr Baedeker,[1] he made his first journey to Irkutsk in the early

[1] One of the picturesque and impressive personalities connected with Evangelical work in Russia from 1876 onward. Arrested at Riga while circulating the Scriptures, he obtained leave from the Governor to visit the local prisons, and his experience influenced the whole future of his Christian service. By a special permit from the head of the Prisons Department, he was authorised to enter any prison in the Empire,

summer of 1890—through "miles of wild forget-me-nots and buttercups"; which must have seemed a happy omen. The following summer he travelled through the fertile district of Barnaul, and across the steppes to Zmeinogorsk and Semipalatinsk. Hitherto the highest annual circulation had been about 24,000 copies; in these two years—one of them "the year of the Great Hunger"—the figures rose to 41,500 and 43,600. Once more at Irkutsk in June 1892, he installed his colleague, Mr Andrew Keay, who had been appointed to the Eastern Division. At Tomsk he met M. Pushnikoff, one of the Siberian merchant princes, whose generosity enabled him to add the 1040 miles between Tomsk and Irkutsk as another stage to the long route of free carriage through the agency. A ton and a half of the Society's books could now be conveyed from St Petersburg to the Angarà—a distance of 3740 English miles—for £10, loading charges; while, away from the main line of traffic, there were free passes to carry the colporteur by Irtish and Obi to the Tartar steppes in the south, by Angarà, Yenesei, and Lena to the forests and tundras of the north. In no other country was the Society encouraged by such material proofs of sympathy and esteem. Within three years, thanks to the liberality of the State and the munificence of friends, thirty-seven tons of Scriptures had been transmitted to the East free of cost.[1]

The cattle were grazing on the sides of the wooded hills,

to converse with the unhappy inmates, and to distribute the Word of God in various languages. The liberal support of English and Russian friends enabled him to travel throughout Russia and Siberia, and the Bible Society supplied him with the Scriptures, first as free grants, afterwards at a discount of 75 per cent. In 1892 we read of many inquiries being made in the prison at Tomsk about "the good old man, the Anglichanin with the fine grey beard." The philanthropic Englishman giving Testaments away to Siberian prisoners, in Tolstoi's novel, *Resurrection*, was generally recognised as a sketch of Dr F. W. Baedeker, who was, however, by birth a German. When advancing years restricted his efforts the official permit was extended at his request to Baron Nikolai and Mr Kargel of St Petersburg, who shared not only this privilege but the ready help of the Society. In 1897 the Committee enrolled him among their Honorary Foreign Members. He died at Weston-super-Mare in October 1906.

[1] Among the friends held in grateful memory in this connection may be mentioned the Brothers Kamenski of the well-known steamship company on the Volga and Kama; Messrs Wardropper Brothers of Tiumen; Messrs Kurbatoff & Ignatoff, Mr Funk, Messrs Korniloff & Co., Messrs Gadaloff & Co., and Mr A. M. Siberikoff, the Siberian philanthropist.

and the peasants were reaping near their villages, when Mr Keay passed through the Transbaikal in 1892 on his way to the Furthest East. Sailing down the Shilka and the Amur, he reached Blagovestchensk, the town of "the Annunciation" or "Glad Tidings," where one of the leading merchants, Mr Emery, consented to take charge of a sub-depôt, and with some difficulty a colporteur was found to work among the numerous Molokàns of the neighbourhood. The Amur was an icy sledge route when he resumed his journey in January 1893. Five hundred and sixty miles took him to Habarofsk, at the confluence of the Amur and Ussuri, where he had a gratifying interview with Baron Korff, the Governor-General of the three Amur provinces. Yet another 560 miles up the frozen Ussuri, the Sungatchà, and across Lake Hankà, and he was at Vladivostock on the Golden Horn.

Here he saw the Ussuri line advancing to meet the great Siberian Railway; and here for the first time a Siberian agent received a shipment of Scriptures from Odessa. Arrangements for a sub-depôt were made with M. Zenzinoff, the only bookseller of the town, and a colporteur was appointed on trial. Returning by sea, with twelve large cases of Scriptures which Messrs Sheveleff & Co. carried without charge, Mr Keay touched at Alexandrovosk in Saghalien on his way to Nicolaevsk, and sailed up the great river to Blagovestchensk. Fresh supplies were left with Mr Emery; and Mr Keay, on calling to thank the director of the Amur Shipping Company for free freight from Nicolaevsk, was presented with an open letter franking the Society's goods, and granting a free first-class passage to the Society's servants, on all the Company's steamers wherever they sailed. The peasants were again reaping in the Transbaikal fields when he reached the last stages of his homeward journey; and having placed all the affairs of the Eastern Division in thorough working order, Mr Keay left Irkutsk for England.

There were now sixteen colporteurs at work, and sub-

depôts had been opened at Kungur, Tobolsk, and Barnaul, while the depôt at Irkutsk had passed into the charge of Mikhailov and Makushin, the Tomsk booksellers, who had opened a branch of their business in the "Siberian Paris."

The energy of Western enterprise was throbbing along the great iron road; towns were growing into cities; steamers were multiplying on the rivers; fresh industries were being planted, and new populations were gathering about them. Immigrants swarmed eastward—33,000 in 1890; 68,000 in 1891; over 80,000 in 1892. Whither? "God knows, *barin*; they say there is plenty of good soil east, and there I go;" and every year since 1887, 500 Portions of the Word of Life had gone with them. On all sides local authorities—*semtsvos*, mayors, leading citizens—took a more lively interest in the spread of the Scriptures among the people, and in provision for schools and orphanages; and in the great factories and works among the gold mines and prospecting camps in the woods, the colporteurs found "an open door and a hearty welcome" from masters and managers. The courtesy and helpfulness of Governors, high ecclesiastics, and officials of all classes could not be exceeded. Ready access was granted to the prisons, and regulations were framed for the proper use of the books distributed gratis. In addition to the usual permits, the Governor's "open letters" secured the privileges of Crown servants for the colporteur on his travels, and similar commendations from bishop or archbishop enlisted the co-operation of the Orthodox clergy.

So, ever lengthening the cords and strengthening the stakes, the colporteurs passed and repassed, like specks in the immeasurable landscape. In the north beyond Tcherdin, where the June sun scarcely sets at all, Dildin read the Scriptures to his visitors all through the summer night, and "required no lamp or candle." Still further north, Mikhailov "reached the last village of four houses on the edge of this world. There are no villages further north—only the vast

forests and bogs where the Woguls live." On the steppe beyond Barnaul, in the south, Solivief was caught at sundown in a *buran* (blizzard). He had engaged a peasant with three horses to help him. Two of the horses went in front, simply to beat out a track in the deep snow, the third drew his sledge and box of Scriptures. His own horse could barely drag itself along. Night fell on the blinding smother. "At last we were compelled to leave the load, unyoke the horses, and push on anyhow. It was pitch dark, and we could not find the way into the enclosure which surrounds every village. We tied the horses to the palisade near a haystack, and climbed over. We had about two more versts to walk, and it was with the greatest difficulty that we reached the first cottage in the village; and into this we literally tumbled. Next morning a peasant brought in my box and sledge, but he told me that two of the villagers—one had but gone to his corn-mill a verst and a half from his own door—had perished in the snowstorm." Still further south, Ivanov and his assistant floated from "Stony Hill Town" down the current of the upper Irtish. They had free steamer tickets, but they preferred the liberty of their own boat — a primitive craft hewn out of a single tree and 97 feet long. All the villagers ran down to the shore when they saw it flying the B.O. (Bible Society) flag; the Biblemen landed, and sales began. "We did not sail during the night. We made fast our boat, got on to the bank, lighted a fire and made our tea; then slept, got up early in the morning, praised God, and again passed on our way rejoicing. We were glad and full of joy. The flowing stream and the beauty of things made us both glad." An old soldier of the Czar Nicholas, this Ivanov; had thrice defended himself against highway robbers; and had travelled, one year, 3940 miles at an outlay of £6, 18s. 4d. Eastward, among the picturesque mountain folds below Biisk, Voronov visited the chief station of the Altai Mission (afterwards the Orthodox Missionary

Society), which worked among the nomad Buriats, Mongols and Kirghiz along the Chinese frontier, and which at this time had forty schools with an attendance of 700 boys and girls. Sixteen of the missionaries had assembled for the high feast of their patron saint, and Bishop Vladimir introduced him, spoke warmly in praise of the Society, and urged his colleagues to lay in a store of Scriptures for their converts. "I sold as many as 207 copies," wrote Voronov, "and even then could not supply all their wants." The good Bishop Makari of Tomsk, whose journeys might have been traced by the Testaments and Portions which he left at the rural post-stations, had formerly been head of the mission, and had translated the Gospel of St Mark for these Altai Kirghiz. The Committee had voted 100 roubles towards its publication, and in the last days of 1894 the little book passed through Makushin's press at Tomsk.

CHAPTER LVII

RUSSIA AND SIBERIA (II.)

In the Odessa Agency, as in the North, the broad result of these ten years was "an advance all along the line." Here, however, where the prosperity of the cause was chiefly dependent on colportage, the colporteurs were most liable to serious obstruction. Restrictions on personal liberty were perhaps necessary evils of a dangerous time. The men were closely watched, expelled, required to break up their homes and leave the district, without charge made or explanation given. Even the stamp of the Holy Synod failed to guarantee the orthodoxy of the Scriptures; an Archbishop's letter must prove that the books were not Stundist publications; the absence of crosses on the covers was clear evidence that they were Pashkovite!

The Report for 1887-88 contained a frank and conciliatory survey of the whole position, in which Mr Morrison sympathetically explained the sensitiveness of some of the Russian clergy and officials, and set forth the singleness of the Society's purpose, the publicity of its acts and the loyalty of its servants. In every town and village they sought the recognition and assistance of the local authorities, and when the necessary authorisation was refused they accepted the veto without complaint. "I know," he wrote, "that there are Protestant missionaries at work in Russia. There are perfervid agents of German and Russian Baptist societies, travelling preachers from local Stundist communities, and others, all earnestly endeavouring to carry

on a propaganda among the Russian Orthodox and the German Lutherans. With these missionaries the Bible Society has absolutely no connection, open or hidden,"—and its employees were forbidden, under pain of instant dismissal, to take part in any movement hostile to the Russian Church. The statement seems to have impressed the Russian authorities, and for several years these difficulties were minimised, though once in a way priest and village elder might search a Bible knapsack for "books of magic," or an exceptional officer might order a colporteur out of barracks with the significant words, "We have our own Orthodox Society."

Southern Russia, with its population of over 30,500,000, was even more specifically a land of villages than the Northern Agency. From the chief depôt centres and colportage stations — Odessa and Kief and Kharkov, Orel, Voronej, the Volga, and Rostov — some twenty Biblemen went forth to all the points of the compass. Later (December 1888) a chief depôt was founded at Rostov, now grown a brisk and thriving commercial town, and its system of distribution stretched from the shores of Azov and the Don Cossack settlements to Vladikavkaz, under Caucasus of the shining peaks and huge flanks blue with a mist of forest. Free passes, so cheerfully granted, for the South Russian Railways, the steamers of the Dnieper and Volga, and the fleet of the Russian Steam Navigation Company, enabled the men to pass cheaply and rapidly over a wide expanse of country.[1] Even then the distances they travelled were surprising—in 1887, 45,000 miles; in 1888, 52,000; in 1889, 104,000; and over 200,000 miles in 1892, when the number of colporteurs and hawkers together did not exceed thirty-five. In that last year a man in Voronej covered 18,000, another on the Volga 27,000, and a third in the Kharkov government 28,000 miles.

[1] Subsequently free transit and carriage were granted over all the State railways.

In Vladikavkaz Avakoff heard a Babel of tongues, and threaded streets astir with a medley of races — Russian soldiers and officials, Georgians and Avars, Ossetes and Armenians, Lesghians and Persians, Chetchens, Tartars and Syrians. In the far west Lungé the Bohemian and his wife travelled in their Bible van through fertile Bessarabia; along the roads between the wheat fields, orchards and vineyards of Benderi and Kishenev, along the Roumanian frontier and into the Carpathian foot-hills, along the lower Danube to the feverish, mosquito-plagued swamps at its mouth. His four languages were not too many for the mixed population of Russians, Moldavians and Wallachians, Czechs and Jews and Gipsies, Germans, whose pastors were too often hostile because of the suppressed Apocrypha, and Bulgarians who quarrelled with him because he had no Scriptures in their tongue. In the Black Sea another colporteur voyaged from port to port, visiting the sailors at Sebastopol, the pleasure-seekers at Yalta, the Greek traders of Theodosia, the artillery-men of Kertch, the havens and roadsteads away east to Sukhum Kale and Batoum, the men of the Volunteer Fleet, the recruits drafted off to the army, and the time-expired men homeward bound from the Caucasus.

Here, too, the colporteur maintained the best traditions of his order. In the wilds of Kherson, during the rapid spring thaw, we see him with a team of six horses and two pairs of oxen dragging through the swamps at the rate of six miles a day. On the Kalmuk steppe he goes armed with a nine-foot staff against the savage dogs which assail him at every homestead, and at night round the camp fires he hears travellers tell of daily deeds of violence ("Almost every night along the road I hear of some one having been murdered or robbed"). Among the vast pine forests and fen lands of Volhynia, where pastors and schoolmasters are rare and hundreds of children are growing up neglected and untaught, he seeks out the scattered

log-huts of the German, Czech, and Polish settlers, now struggling through miles of deep snow, now wading thigh-deep in mud and water. Many a day's work ends with not a copy sold and never a friendly word, but once at least an old schoolmaster opens his door and welcomes and lodges him "for love of the Bible Society."

All this is not merely a picturesque decoration of the story; it is of the very substance of the work itself, a revelation of the soul which informs it—the soul of unfailing hope, and patient endurance for Christ's sake, and ungrudging sacrifice. Returning from a district never before visited by a colporteur, Doinitsyn found that his two little boys had died. "At first the blow was terrible, but then I gave it all over into the hand of God, and was quiet." Benighted on his journey, Kataniantz camped under a tree in the wind and rain, caught a chill, and died. Vollhardt nearly perished in a snowstorm on the steppe, and contracted the illness from which he died after long suffering in the following summer. Goleshtianoff, while far from home, was stricken down with paralysis, and became at forty-five "a feeble, white-haired cripple with trembling hands and palsied tongue."

With such a staff it was not surprising that the work prospered. If many of the Mennonite colonies seemed to be losing, in the race for wealth, the earnest piety of their fathers, if German peasants in the Crimea turned roughly on the colporteur, "We don't want the Kingdom of Heaven or your God's Word now," the large sales year after year told how gladly the Scriptures were accepted by the mass of the people, who, it must be remembered, paid on the average a much higher price than in other European countries.[1] Booksellers and hawkers purchased

[1] The average price paid per copy in the Odessa Agency in 1889 was 11½d. As Russian type was larger, the books were larger and dearer. Then, too, the ordinary Russian seldom bought anything smaller than the Four Gospels in one volume.

in considerable quantities to sell again. In the summer camp soldiers, when too poor to buy for themselves, clubbed together for a New Testament. Officers gave the books away to their companies, or took a number of copies as prizes for drilling and shooting, or as rewards for children in the regimental school. Recruits on their way to the military posts beyond the Caspian bought them as reminders of home. The colporteur was made welcome at the monasteries; and if it chanced to be some high feast, with a market for the sale of eikons and crosses, the monks gave him a good stand, the people were encouraged to buy, and every Testament and Psalter as it changed hands was reverently kissed, with a sign of the cross. On rare occasions even the Old Believers were persuaded to touch the sacred volume, and one of their priests became "an earnest preacher of the Gospel as it is in Christ Jesus, and had much blessing on his labours."

Came the year of the "Great Hunger" (1891), and a winter of much snow. The colporteurs met troops of peasants leaving their wasted fields and starving villages. Railway and steamer tickets were issued at a quarter fare for the crowds emigrating to the Caucasus in search of food. Groups of men and women shivered in the snow, pleading for alms. Yet even in these days of misery the colporteurs sold their 3000 or 4000 copies. Then, after the "Great Hunger," the "Great Death"—cholera from the unclean cities of Persia and Afghanistan. The annual fairs were interdicted; mad with terror, the people fled for refuge from towns and villages to the open steppe; a blazing summer, which burned up crops and pasture, was followed by a cold 78 degrees below freezing point. But as a year for Bible-work, 1892-93 was "the brightest" in the records of the agency. Expenditure had been reduced, and for the first time in the Southern Agency the annual circulation had reached 177,000. "Neither famine nor pestilence,

with all their train of sorrows, had lessened the desire of the people to possess themselves of the Word of God."

In accordance with old custom, free grants of Scriptures —over 19,000 volumes in these ten years—were bestowed on hospitals, orphanages, almshouses and prisons, and copies of the Four Gospels and the Psalter were distributed among the convicts sailing for Saghalien and emigrants seeking new homes on the Ussuri and Amur. In return, so to speak, the Volunteer Fleet Company gave free shipment for consignments sent by their steamers to the Far East, and among them were those cases which, as we saw, reached Mr Keay at Vladivostock.

Before we leave this part of our story, some notice must be taken of a sudden interruption of the work in three large provinces. For more than twenty years the depôt at Kief had been the centre of an enormous area of colportage. Electric cars now ran along the streets of the golden-domed metropolis, but to millions it was still "a city of the soul," and its never-ceasing bells rang out unchanged their old Greek music. Of those innumerable, strangely pathetic pilgrims who visited the holy places, wandered in amaze through the gardens and squares, crowded round the vendors of sacred pictures and rosaries, clustered before the depôt windows to read the open pages of the Word of God, thousands took back to their distant homes a more precious souvenir than carved cross and eikon. In the past occasional difficulties had arisen in Kief, but these had been almost forgotten, when suddenly in 1894 the Governor-General prohibited the work of the Society's colporteurs within his jurisdiction, on the ground that they were spreading Stundist doctrines.[1] The alleged

[1] Stundism, a form of evangelical rationalism, first appeared among the German colonies in the neighbourhood of Odessa about 1870, and spread rapidly over Southern Russia. Name derived from *Stunden*, "Hours," the canonical hours, as in the French *livre d'heures*, the prayer-book. The Stundists were noted for their probity, temperance, industry, and submission to the authorities, but they refused the ministrations of the clergy. One of the first signs of adhesion to the sect

offence was contrary to every rule and tradition of the Society and was wholly inconsistent with the character of the colporteurs of the district, all of them men who had served their country with distinction, and who were for the most part members of the Orthodox Church. Mr Morrison had a most cordial interview with Count Ignatieff, but the attempt to clear up what appears to have been a matter of suspicion or misunderstanding produced no very definite results. No individual was accused, and so far as investigation could go there was in fact no foundation for the charge. Strangely enough, in spite of the closure of three of the largest provinces, the year's circulation fell short by no more than 2128 copies, and for the first time the colporteur reached the frozen lagoons and swamps of the North Caspian shore—a desolate region of fisher-folk and fish-curers, most of them Old Believers. There were scores of villages, but until quite recently there had been scarcely a church or a school among them.

We must now turn to the vast division of the agency which lay beyond the Caucasus and the Caspian. Of late the colporteurs had suffered much from the hostility of the Armenian clergy and the fanaticism of the lower classes. In Shusha serious outbreaks had occurred, and the men had been barbarously ill-used at Batoum, Djelal-Ogli, and other towns and villages. Early in 1886 Mr Morrison made a tour through the country. Returning from the great monastery of Etchmiadzin, where he had been hospitably entertained by the Katholicos and the monks, and had been shown the wonderful illuminated codices in their library, he rode northward through the deep grass and wild-flowers of the far-famed Abarran pastures to the village of Bash-Abarran, where, a year or two before, Sarkissof had been

was the disappearance of the eikons from their place of honour in the izba. In one village of the Kief government, about this time, the converts took theirs to the priest: "They had no further use for them."—Leroy-Beaulieu, *The Empire of the Tsars*, vol. iii. pp. 451-454.

savagely beaten. He was well received, provided with refreshment, and then plied with questions by the crowd of wild-looking fellows whose eyes glared from under their shaggy sheepskin hats. He told them pleasantly who he was, explained the work of the Society as a continuation of the work of their own Saint Gregory the Illuminator, and then reproached them, while they listened shamefaced and penitent, with their cruel treatment of a fellow-countryman who had brought them the words of Jesus Christ. At the village of Kulidjan, near Alexandropol, he was welcomed by some twelve or fourteen families who had declared themselves Protestants; and at Karakala, lately a forsaken Turkish village, in the Kars district, he found townsfolk from Alexandropol and other places who had fled from the persecution of their neighbours. Here the Government had given them about 4000 acres, and they had built comfortable homes and a schoolhouse which also served as a chapel. Many he had known before their troubles began, and he was joyfully taken from house to house as an old friend. In almost every town of any importance, he wrote, there were adherents of the Protestants or sympathisers with them, and the light had spread to a hundred villages in the Kars and Alexandropol districts.

In the course of 1887, without a word of warning, Mr Amirkhanjanz, who supervised the work at Tiflis, was banished to Orenburg for four years. The order was sent direct from St Petersburg; there was no trial, no examination; the Committee had no knowledge of the charge which was made, or not made, against him. Intrigue, suspicion, misunderstanding, misrepresentation? Who can say? In the critical summer of 1885, when the Russian forces were pressing on the Afghan border, he accompanied the colporteurs for some time, to test the value of the Jagatai or Tekké Turkoman version of St Matthew,[1] and had but

[1] He appears to have been regarded as a spy by "some of the subordinate officers,"

recently prepared a complete set of references and chapter headings for the Armenian Bible. Happily Mr Steinbrecher, a young German who had colported on the Volga and had just been appointed to the Tiflis depôt, was able to take the management of affairs.

A new language was added to the Society's list in 1888 by the publication of the Gospel of St Matthew in Kumuk, the speech of 70,000 or 80,000 people on the western shores of the Caspian, near Petrovsk. Mr Morrison travelled among them in 1880—a peaceful tribe taking to agriculture and the schools provided by the Government—and arranged for the translation with a young mollah, who finished his task not without risk from the intolerance of his co-religionists. Mark and Luke were printed some years later, but at this time the only other book in the language was a small collection of songs and folk-tales.

In the same year (1888) Mr Morrison first visited Turkestan. The colporteurs, as we have read, followed the Russian troops in their advance to the Afghan frontier, sold the Word of Life in Merv Oasis, in Sarakhs, in Penjdeh the new Russo-Afghan frontier post, in Bokhara. There were soldiers scattered along the iron track, Armenian traders, Uzbeks in the towns, wilder tribes in the oases; but illiteracy was a frequent hindrance. In one camp of a hundred *kibitkas* there was but a solitary reader. Morrison crossed the Caspian in May, and before him lay the Eastern route—which the railway had divested of its mysterious terrors—through blinding wildernesses quivering with heat; past the desolate mud walls of Geok-Tepé, where 20,000 Turkomans made their memorable stand against Skobelef; through more sand to Merv, with its rows of trading-booths and a few Turkoman *kibitkas*; across the tawny Murghab;

and at Kizil Arvat he was stopped by "a very rough and uneducated man who had become Colonel." Seeds of possible trouble visible enough here! In 1889 he was reading the proofs of the Ararat-Armenian Bible at Orenburg; a year later we hear of him at Helsingfors, and in 1891 he left the Society.

through another waste of sand to the broad Oxus; and yet again through immensities of sand, until he came upon the green meadows, cornfields and orchards of the Bokhariots, and saw little square houses lying low among fine trees, and groups of stately Uzbeks reclining in their shade or performing their ritual ablutions beside the numerous canals. The journey ended at Samarkand, and Morrison was the first English traveller on the line beyond Bokhara.

Like Ekaterinburg, Tiflis was now made the centre of a sub-agency, placed in charge of Mr Steinbrecher; Central Asia was divided into two vast sections, east and west of the Oxus; and in 1890, as we have seen, the Tashkent district was added to this sub-agency. In 1889 the circulation was 3356 copies. And such a range of circulation!—the Eastern Caspian posts, 198 copies; Kizil-Arvat, 100; Askabad, the military headquarters, 560; Tcharjui, 830; Merv (where a little later the small Auxiliary of "the Queen of the Desert" was formed by three friends who promised to subscribe fifteen roubles a year "as long as they lived"), 470; Kerki (the frontier post where the general in command sent his thanks to the Society), 316; Sariazi, 140; Bokhara, 145; Katta-Kurgan, 173; Samarkand, 218; the small oases along the railway, 206. It rose in the following year to 4093. The captain of the new steamers on the Oxus gave free passage for man and books between Tcharjui and Khiva; Hebrew booksellers from Balkh and Herat took home supplies of Hebrew and Persian Scriptures; a number of Afghans were met on the border, and the Pashtu version appeared for the first time in the sales of the agency. Then came a season of trial, and when Mr Morrison again reached Turkestan in 1892, the staunch pioneer Arushanov was falling blind, and Ambarzumov of Askabad had to resign on account of his brother's death. It was settled, however, that the latter should hold a small stock of Scriptures for the Transcaspian towns; supplies

were placed with the agent of the Swedish Mission at Samarkand; and shortly afterwards Koulshin, one of the Odessa men, was sent to take up the work, from which the Armenians of Tiflis shrank in dismay. With a high heart he braved the half-hostile population, the hard life, the coarse fare, the long tours, the sandstorms, the sickening heat (133 degrees in April), the bitterly cold nights on the bare earth when boorish Sarts refused him shelter. Later, another colporteur was obtained for Transcaspia, and at the end of 1894 the circulation in Central Asia stood at 2350 copies.

In this journey of 1892 Morrison crossed the Thian Shan Mountains, with the utmost difficulty and with no slight danger, and set foot in the virgin field of Chinese Tartary —an enormous plain (flecked with fruitful oases like Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan) which stretched away south to the plateaux of Tibet and west to the snows on Pamir, "the Roof of the World." At Kashgar he found that the Swedish Mission had arrived but a few days before him; and subject to the concurrence of the Swedish Society, he engaged the services of its agent, Ohannes Aveteranianz, for colportage. At daybreak on a June morning he left Kashgar. The townspeople were asleep in the open, because of the intense heat—like a city of the dead in their white shrouds. Just outside the town, a little apart from the rest, were two sleepers, "who lay in the white dawn with upturned faces and dropped jaws, silvery white and ashen grey; they were lepers." And the picture seemed an allegory.

Great was the stir in Kashgar when consignments of the Scriptures in many Eastern tongues were delivered. But little could yet be undertaken. Despite the influence of the Russian consul, the Chinese Taotai refused to give Aveteranianz a passport, and the attempt of a fanatical mollah to set his books on fire indicated the need for caution. A translation, however, was begun; the Gospel of St Matthew in Kashgar-

Turki was finished in 1893, and in 1894 we leave Aveteranianz sitting in his depôt on the brink of the Wilderness of Gobi, a case of Scriptures behind him, and on a desk before him the MS. of a chapter of St Luke.[1]

Throughout his journey Mr Morrison tested the Uzbek or Sart translation of the Four Gospels, commenced in 1884 by M. Ostroumoff, a Russian scholar, and printed after many revisions in 1891. All doubts as to its suitability were dispelled by the Uzbeks themselves; the Society had obtained a version intelligible to 4,000,000 of people between the Caspian Sea and the Wall of China.

Meanwhile, between 13,000 and 14,000 copies of Scripture were distributed from the Tiflis centre. Cholera swept the Caucasus; the savage fanaticism, which had subsided for a time, broke out afresh; but in all parts of the country—among the Caspian fisher-folk south of Lenkoran, the factories of the Swedish and Hebrew millionaires about Baku, the Cossack posts, the Tartar brigands, and Armenian villagers along the Persian and Turkish frontiers; at Erivan, Kars, Ardahan; in the swampy forests of Mingrelia, around Georgian Kutais with its white houses embowered in pleasant woods—the little company of six or eight colporteurs worked for the cause with splendid courage and endurance. The publication of suitable editions in Persian, Azerbijan and Ararat-Armenian removed at length an obstacle which had long impeded progress; and now in 1894 an important step was taken to obtain adequate supplies of the Georgian Scriptures in a popular form, and to conciliate the Armenian clergy, who had long resented the operations of the Society. Bearing letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr Benson) to the heads of these venerable Churches of the East, Mr Sharp, the Secretary, reached Tiflis in April. He and Mr Morrison were received with much courtesy by the Exarch Vladimir of Georgia,

1 The Four Gospels were printed in 1898, and after prolonged examination were pronounced excellent.

who readily undertook to print for them all the editions they desired. At Etchmiadzin the revered Katholicos rose from a sick-bed to meet them. He graciously assented to the publication of editions in Ancient and Ararat Armenian; a proposal to obviate all technical difficulties by presenting the monastery with a printing press for the exclusive production of the Scriptures was warmly taken up at home; funds were raised, and before the year closed the useful gift was installed in the ancient cloister under the two snowy peaks of Ararat.

The vacancy caused by the sudden death of Mr James Watt in October 1894 was filled by the transfer of Mr Morrison to Berlin; and 1895 began a new epoch. Siberia was made an independent agency, and Russia, North and South, the Caucasus and Central Asia were combined under Dr Nicolson, with the Rev. W. Kean, B.D., as assistant.[1]

In the eleven years from 1884 to the beginning of 1895 the circulation of the Northern Agency amounted to 3,538,058 copies, including 319,614 in Siberia, and 24,684 in the Tashkent region; that of the Southern Agency to 1,748,036 copies, including 151,044 in the Caucasus, and about 20,000 in Turkestan: a total of 5,286,094.

Of the Scriptures distributed from the Odessa centre it may be noted that though from thirty to forty languages were used, nearly a million and a quarter copies (1,241,625) were in Russ or Russ with Slavonic. Of Jewish versions 106,452 copies were sold between 1871 and 1884, and 79,835 between 1884 and 1895; and a large proportion of these, especially in the years of unrest and hope for the restoration of Israel, were New Testaments. At times one heard of some small group studying the Scriptures; from Melitopol in the Crimea a Jewish family sent a hearty greeting to the Bible Society, and there a little society of Jews was praying for their nation, but no general movement fulfilled the high expectations,

[1] As a missionary of the Church of Scotland in Alexandria, Mr Kean had acquired several languages and had some knowledge of the work of the Society.

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shared by so many in England, that the ancient people of God were turning to the Saviour of men.

On the 1st November 1894 the Czar Alexander III. died at Livadia. During the thirteen years of his reign the many privileges granted by Ministers of State and public companies bore witness to his Majesty's goodwill towards the Society, and a special minute expressing the deep sympathy of the Committee with the Imperial House and the people of Russia in his sorrowful decease was forwarded through the Russian ambassador, and graciously acknowledged by his successor. A copy of the English Bible was presented from the Society to Nicholas II. on his coronation at Moscow, and the St Petersburg committee approached his Majesty with copies of Scripture in twenty-three of the languages used by his people, while as a grateful recognition of the facilities of transport granted by the Government nearly 1000 volumes were placed in the railway hospitals and waiting-rooms. Four days after the coronation occurred the terrible disaster at the people's fête on the Khodinski Plain, when in consequence of a panic 1429 persons were crushed and trampled to death and 644 were injured. It was one of those tragic events which specially appeal to the Society, and 3000 Testaments in Russ and 65 in other tongues were delivered to the authorities for distribution among the bereaved.

CHAPTER LVIII

RUSSIA AND SIBERIA (III.)

We now come to the last series of changes in the Russian Agency. For eight-and-twenty years Dr Nicolson had given himself heart and soul to the cause of the Society. During that time Russia had become the most important of its foreign agencies; the annual distribution had grown from 30,000 copies until it equalled one-seventh of the Society's total circulation, and the work entailed an outlay which absorbed one-seventh of the Society's income. Of the broad effect of these unstinted exertions an independent observer had recently published an estimate, the accuracy of which was confirmed by each succeeding Report:—

"The New Testament" [he wrote] "is undoubtedly the book dearest to the Russian. It is to be found in the working-man's room as well as in the peasant's cabin. Those who can, read it to the others. Every new step gained by popular instruction brings new readers. All that the people have in the way of religious or moral training they get there. The influence of the book upon the Russian soul is not to be denied; in spite of ignorance and superstitions, the faith of the people deserves the name of 'Evangelical' if, to be that, it is enough to be nourished upon the very marrow of the Gospels."[1]

On the 27th September 1897 a large and enthusiastic gathering, which was afterwards reported in the leading

[1] Leroy-Beaulieu, *The Empire of the Tsars*, vol. iii. p. 86. The author seems, however, to have had but little knowledge of the extent of *Bible-work* in Russia. He refers with some details to the zealous efforts of the Russian Bible Society, which distributed ("after the American fashion") 100,000 copies annually, but he appears to have heard nothing of the vast system of depôts and colportage of the British and Foreign, which circulated over 500,000, or of the operations of the Holy Synod.

journals, met in St Petersburg to wish Dr Nicolson farewell on his retirement from service, and to present him with various tokens of affection and esteem from his fellow-workers on the St Petersburg committee, the congregation of the British and American Church, and a wide circle of friends in the capital. Among those present were the Rev. John Sharp and Mr I. P. Werner, who had been deputed to attend the transfer of the agency to his successor, Mr Kean. While in Russia, they inspected the depôts as far south as Samara, and at Kazan they met Damien Athanasiévitch Koutchneff, a young Russian born and bred among the Yakuts, who was translating the Gospels into the language of these tribes of the northern Lena.

Mr Kean, on whom the degree of D.D. was afterwards conferred, *honoris causâ,* by his own University of Glasgow, set out without delay on a tour of 10,000 miles through the territories under his jurisdiction, and gradually gave effect to a scheme of centralisation. Early in 1897 the work in the three divisions of the Volga was concentrated at Samara, and while the old stations were still included in the range of colportage, the depôts at Kazan and Saratov, and the smaller sub-depôts along the river, were closed. In October the Rostov district, which stretched from the shores of Azov to Vladikavkaz, "at the gates of the East," was annexed to the Kharkov depôt. From the beginning of 1900 Tiflis was made the seat of a distinct sub-agency, as it had been twenty years earlier under Mr Morrison, and the management of affairs was intrusted to Baron Felix Stackelberg, who had spent twelve months of probation in the St Petersburg depôt. At the same time Russian Poland, an important Roman Catholic field which had formed part of the Austrian Agency since 1867, was transferred to the *régime* to which on political grounds it naturally belonged. Yet another business change may be noted. The need had ceased for the old method of distribution

through sub-depôts in commercial houses and through correspondents who were not in the employ of the Society, and in 1902 it was decided to close these accounts as occasion offered and to decline fresh applications. Thus, in its latest form of administration the Russian Agency consisted of eight great depôt centres with a distributing staff of seventy to eighty men, or an average varying from sixty-four to seventy-two employed regularly throughout the year.[1]

In its broad aspects the work practically remained the same. One third of Russia was still forest, eight out of every nine Russians were still villagers, and instead of crowding into the towns the *mujiks* in the south spread their settlements over the vast Kalmuk steppes. Still, time had wrought various changes. Railways and steamers had shorn the famous *Yarmarka* (*Jahrmarkt*) of Nijni Novgorod of much of its picturesque bustle and commercial importance. In 1896, however, the circulation from the Kiosk was close upon the 8000 copies of earlier days, and the directors of the Universal Trade and Arts Exhibition held in that year awarded the Society a diploma of the first class in recognition of its unwearied activity in the circulation of the books of Holy Scripture; but the sales gradually dropped to 2798 copies in 1901, and even before the foundations of the Kiosk were sapped by the spring floods of 1903, it had become a question whether the results justified the outlay it entailed.[2] The work of other agencies had developed, and their welcome competition, while it furthered the sole object of the Society, taxed the energy of its colporteurs to maintain their position. The Orthodox Missionary Society of Kazan printed and circulated Portions in the languages of the Tartar and Finnish tribes of the Volga Valley; the

[1] These centres were—St Petersburg, 2 colporteurs, 4 hawkers; Moscow, 6 colporteurs, 3 hawkers; Baltic Provinces, 9 colporteurs, 1 hawker; Finland, 2 colporteurs; the Volga, 14 colporteurs, 4 hawkers; Kharkov, 15 colporteurs; Odessa, 8 colporteurs; Tiflis, 8 colporteurs, 3 hawkers; the figures, as we have said, varying from time to time.

[2] The Kiosk was repaired, and 3533 volumes were sold in 1905.

Russian Bible Society sent its colporteurs abroad with the Slavonic and Russ versions; and the printing houses of the Holy Synod had their distributing departments, with commission agents, travellers and hawkers traversing the length and breadth of the country. While these organisations were equipped with the complete Russ Bible (to which the table of Church lessons was frequently added), the only parts of the Russ or Slavonic Old Testament which the agency had been allowed to circulate since the exhaustion of the canonical edition of 1882 were the Pentateuch and Psalms in the Holy Synod's version.[1] For the Society's own diglot edition, Hebrew-Russ, special permission was granted. In the north, too, and especially in the Moscow government, the booksellers who used to purchase from the depôts and colporteurs of the agency, now drew their supplies direct from the warehouses of the Holy Synod. But the agency's function was unique; it offered the Word of Life to all denominations and in more than three hundred languages. On the ground covered by the other organisations it did work beyond their scope, and in the frozen stillness of the long months of snow its sledge bells were heard in regions where other colporteurs were unknown, and where wonder was expressed that such rare books were sold so cheap.

In 1899 the Society's privileges were revised. The allowance of free tickets was confirmed, and in addition to unlimited free carriage on all Government lines, free carriage was granted on all private railways to the extent of nineteen tons a year. Consignments of Scriptures had long been exempt from import duties, and now the depôts and their employés were relieved of the trade and industrial

[1] These contain the peculiar Septuagint readings, but Psalm cli. is omitted. The refusal of the Holy Synod to issue a second edition of the Russ Bible without the Apocrypha was continued throughout the period covered by this history. In 1906, however, there seemed to be some prospect of the Synod meeting the wishes of the Society. Outside Russia the Society's version of the Old Testament—the first ever published in Russia—has all along been in circulation.

tax. Of all continental nations, indeed, Russia accorded the Society the most generous facilities and the warmest welcome.

We may now cast a rapid glance at some of the great divisions. In Finland the work of distribution was shared by the various denominations—the Finnish Church, which was engaged in revision and which sent out one or two colporteurs to necessitous districts; the Orthodox Brotherhood at Sortovala (Sordavala); the Sortovala Evangelical Association (Lutheran), which took for its charge the many unprovided families in a hundred parishes in the east and north-east; the Free Christians, the Methodists, and finally the small committee formed at Helsingfors to assist the poor. The native Bible Society at Åbo put forth large editions, but for the most part the labours of these bodies depended on the co-operation of the St Petersburg Agency. In 1899, for instance, though its total circulation in Finland exceeded 39,000 copies, only 5000 of these were sold through its own colporteurs. During these final ten years its output in the Grand Duchy amounted to 375,371 volumes, making an aggregate of 688,721 since 1884.

In many places in the Baltic Provinces the chief obstacle was the spirit of materialism which was gaining ground among the people. Occasionally a Lutheran pastor disapproved of the Society and its exclusion of the Apocrypha, but on the other hand there was a wonderful readiness on the part of Jews and Roman Catholics to receive the Scriptures, and in one instance a priest not only bought the New Testament and allowed Portions of Wuyk's Polish version to be accepted by his household, but provided the colporteur with food and lodging for the night, and talked much with him concerning the Scriptures. In Russian Poland the publication of the Polish New Testament by the Church of Rome in 1901 bore evidence to a widespread desire for the Word of God, which was only held

in check by ecclesiastical prohibitions and violent pulpit denunciations. From St Petersburg Maslennikoff travelled again and again into the far north, storing his cases in the historic cathedral of Archangel, landing in snow and surf on the White Sea islands, selling some hundreds of Testaments and Portions to the monks of Solovetski for the benefit of their future pilgrims, coasting Kandalak Gulf and going ashore to the export timber gangs. On one of his journeys he reached as far west as Norway, on another he descended the perilous cataracts of the Onega, on a third he was a fellow-traveller with the revered Father John of Kronstadt, who greatly encouraged him in his calling: "It is a very good service; one might call it apostolic." Everywhere on these hazardous tours of from 6000 to 10,000 miles he met with kindness and furtherance from the Orthodox clergy of the northern land.

One picture we must preserve of Maslennikoff's wanderings. It was a night in mid June, on the Vychegda, a tributary of the northern Dwina. As he steered along he heard strange noises in the stillness of the night, now on one bank and then on the other. "Fishermen apparently," said his oarsmen. "About two in the morning we came up to a party of thirty people, both men and women, who were pulling ashore a large net full of fish. I landed and spoke to the people, and offered them the Scriptures. 'Yes,' they said, 'the books are good, and with all our hearts we would buy them, but there is no money amongst us. To think that you should bring us the Holy Scriptures to such a dull place, and in the dead of night. Where have you come from, brother? Tell us, will you not give us books, and we will give you fish?" Fifteen copies were thus sold, and Maslennikoff took to his boat again. "Soon a thick fog arose, and for some time we had to go very carefully, not being able to see a fathom ahead. About six in the morning shouts came from behind us, 'Stop! stop!' and looking

back I saw a dozen men running towards us. They belonged to the same village as the fishermen, and they had seen the books which the fishermen took home, and had come running fifteen versts (ten miles) to buy for themselves. They took thirteen copies."

The long-expected translation of the Four Gospels for the Chuvash tribes along the Volga was issued in 1895. The first edition of 1000 copies was instantly sold; a second of 3600 followed in 1897, and yet another 2000 in 1899. Then 6000 copies of the Gospels and the Acts and 6000 of the Psalms appeared in 1901. In the Chuvash villages the people crowded round the colporteur, "greedy for books," paid without bargaining, and before the summer was over not a copy remained. The first published translation of the Four Gospels in Bashkir, the language spoken by the remnants of the Golden Horde,[1] who lived by cattle-breeding, bee-keeping, farming and hunting on the steppes of Ufa and Orenburg, was issued in 1902; and on the eve of the Centenary a new version of the Four Gospels in Wotjak and a translation in Moksha Mordoff for the Finnish tribes about the Oka, Kama and Viatka rivers were passing through the press at Kazan. The difficulties with regard to the forbidden provinces appear to have been adjusted and the prohibition withdrawn, for once more we find the colporteur at work in Kief the Holy City.

In the Caucasus the friendly attitude of the venerable Katholicos had failed to reconcile the Armenian priesthood to the work of the Society. Voices were raised at the time against the concessions granted at Etchmiadzin, and the colporteurs were still met with an outcry against their "falsified and curtailed editions." Subsequently the printing of an Ancient Armenian Bible was begun at the celebrated monastery, — though on political rather than

[1] So called from the gilded tent (*horda*) of their leader Batu, grandson of Jenghis Khan.

ecclesiastical grounds the aid of a foreign Bible Society was declined — and in October 1903 the first proof-sheet reached Dr Kean.

At Abbas Tuman, his seat in the Caucasus, the Czarewitch, brother of Nicholas II., died suddenly in June 1899. Every December for seven years he had purchased Russian and Slavonic Scriptures from the Tiflis depôt for presents to his retinue and attendants, and at his decease the number of copies amounted to 3200. In December the same year the agency lost one of its colporteurs. On one of his journeys Pozharski fell ill. Left alone in the depths of winter, he was so terribly frost-bitten that when help at length found him and he was brought in to Tiflis, both his feet had to be amputated at the hospital. In May 1900 another colporteur, Paramidze, a Georgian monk, set out from Gori, fifty or sixty miles from Tiflis, and was never seen again; no clue could be discovered as to his fate among the mountains.

After long delay the first edition (2000 copies) of the Georgian Pentateuch, revised by the commission appointed by the Exarch Vladimir, left the press in 1900, and 4500 copies of the Four Gospels and Acts and 3000 of the Psalms were published in the following year. It was a curious fact that the word "Bible" did not exist in the Georgian tongue, and as the expressions "the Word of God" and "the Holy Scriptures" included all sacred literature, the Society had hitherto been really described as the British and Foreign *Theological* Society. In response to a petition for a correct rendering of its proper title, the Synodal Office coined the word *Bibliur*, which appeared thenceforth on the Society's Georgian issues.

Beyond the Caspian the work was carried on, with varying results from Krasnovodsk to Bokhara, Samarkand, Merv, Tashkent; kindly assistance was given by two of the old ex-colporteurs; and away in the north-east beyond the Issyk Kul Lake Peter Korneff lived in his waggon,

until the illness of his wife and little child compelled him to settle them in Vernoé and go off alone on his journeys. An edition (2000 copies) of the Four Gospels translated by Ohannes Aveteranianz was sent out to the Swedish missionaries at Kashgar. One of the first copies disposed of was openly burned in the bazaar, and nearly caused a riot. A mollah wrathfully brought back another. It was sin and shame, he said, for a Moslem to possess such a book. What sacred book mentioned the names of the prophets without the holy epithets? Yet in this was written "Jesus" and again "Jesus," without any honour and without the prayer, "On him be peace!" The Gospel he would not keep; and though some few others read and believed, no more than 785 copies were sold up to the Centenary. In 1903, however, Dr Kean was in Tiflis, preparing a scheme of colportage under the Swedish Mission, and hoped to send a Chinese Bibleman to these unexplored territories.

For many years, as we have seen, an extensive and regular distribution had taken place among the military throughout the Empire. A General Army Order expressly gave the Russian Bible Society entrance into camps and barracks, but the agency had preferred to rely on the goodwill of the authorities immediately concerned, and the plan had proved satisfactory. In September 1902 a new Order excluded all colporteurs from intercourse with the troops, and in all quarters it was strictly enforced, with a marked effect on the circulation of the year. In the Black Sea, however, Luzanoff was still permitted to visit the fleet, was indeed often conveyed in a ship's launch from one man-of-war to another; and Sebastopol was the only Russian port in which the men of the agency had obtained this privilege.

We may now briefly state results. In the nine years from the beginning of 1895 to 1904, the agency issued 4,597,675 Bibles, Testaments and Portions in some seventy languages. The vast bulk—2,876,035 copies—were in Russ

or Russ with Slavonic. Next in demand were the Slavonic, Finnish and German versions.[1] The sales of Jewish Scriptures (in all 187,751 copies) were largely increased on the publication of the new Yiddish Testament in 1901.

The total circulation of the twenty years, north and south, was 9,883,769 copies. Of these over 3,600,000 were distributed by colporteurs, and 260,395 were bestowed gratis on hospitals, orphanages, asylums, sailors' homes, schools, and poor congregations. In the last seven years of the period as many as 113,541 copies were sold for free distribution among prisoners at a discount of 75 per cent.

The expenditure of the twenty years amounted to £678,080 (£107,816 for colportage), and the receipts to £438,207. This expenditure exceeded the combined expenditure on Germany, France and Spain; the receipts exceeded those from Germany, France, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Spain and Portugal, Turkey, Greece and Persia. Free contributions were forwarded through the St Petersburg Agency—£1571 from 1875 to 1884, £1891 from 1884 to 1895, and £2969 from 1895 to 1904; in all £6431.

As we pass for the last time to the Russian dominions beyond the Urals, we leave Mr Theophile Kylius still depositary at Odessa, with twenty-eight years' service, dating from Mr Watt's time; Mr Kirsch, who was colporting in 1876, still depositary for the Volga Division; Colporteur Avakoff at Vladikavkaz, a veteran of twenty-six years' standing. The depositary at Helsingfors, sea-captain Fägerlund, who had been introduced by Mr Weakley, the agent then at Stockholm, still took delight in spreading the *Magnalia Dei* among the emigrants who went down to the sea at Hangö port. Colporteur Lungé, whose Bible cart traversed Bessarabia, retired in 1902 after nearly forty years' service

[1] Slavonic, 522,397 copies; Finnish, 312,281 (+3291 Finnish-Swedish); German, 278,329; Lett, 100,364; Polish, 99,661; Armenian, 17,358; Georgian, 22,443.

in different countries; Garmasch, whose average sales for fifteen years had been 10,000 copies, died in 1903; but after at least seventeen years of recorded work, Maria Andreevna, "the Biblewoman of Moscow," still pursued her calling.

Siberia, we have seen, was made an independent agency in 1895. It was just twenty years since Dr Nicolson, on his first visit to Ekaterinburg, was assured that all Siberia needed was a colporteur, with an assistant, to attend the crowded annual fairs along the busy trade routes. Looking back, one perceived how providentially the work had been guided into ever-widening courses; how between 1884 and 1895 nearly 320,000 copies of the Word of Life had been distributed across the entire breadth of the continent; how it had been given to the Society to precede commerce and to pioneer the advance of religion and education.

In 1895 the railway reached Omsk, and the stirring town was raised to the dignity of a bishop's see. A "church on wheels" accompanied the workmen from stage to stage, and the colporteurs went to and fro, selling to navvies and bridge-builders and villagers living along the iron way. In 1896 the line was 500 miles beyond Tomsk, and in the autumn of 1901 the stupendous earth-work with its forty miles of bridges was complete from the Urals to the Golden Horn.[1] Depôts were opened at Cheljabinsk, at Krasnoyarsk, at Chita. Special provision was made for emigrants at Cheljabinsk, the first halting-place on the Asiatic side of the Urals, and at Obi Bridge—in summer a lively and bustling centre with its trains, landing-stages, steamers, caravanserais—where throngs of peasants turned southward to the Altai settlements. Up to 1896 the annual limit of copies for gratis distribution among the poorest of these was 500, but in 1897 the influx of immigrants rose to

[1] The Amur steamers connected Stretinsk with the Ussuri terminus, and a train-ferry crossed Lake Baikal; later a loop-line was built round the head of the lake.

250,000 souls — very many in extreme poverty, — and the number of free copies was increased to between 2000 and 3000. To a large extent the care of Siberian exiles and convicts was left to Mr Kargel and Baron Nicolai, who took up Dr Baedeker's philanthropic work. The convoys no longer followed the Tiumen route, but were conveyed direct through Cheljabinsk to their destinations, and many of the prisoners, it was found, had received the Scriptures before leaving Russia. Still, with a careful eye to avoid overlapping the efforts of friends, the colporteur had many opportunities both for free gifts and for sales among the exiles. At all the stations along the line a clear-typed copy of the New Testament was placed in the waiting-room for the benefit of the passing traveller, and the little volume, attached to a desk by whipcord sealed with the Imperial Eagles of Russia, curiously recalled the mediæval days of chained books.

Electric lights glittered on the mighty rivers; foreign capital, equipped with the most recent machinery, exploited the wealth of the forest and the mountain; but more remarkable than the material evidences of progress were the tokens visible everywhere of a vivid religious life. Illiteracy had long been a stumbling-block in the way of Bible-work. By 1900, 150 churches and 100 schools had been built along the course of the great railway. In rural districts hundreds of "reading and writing" centres were started to retrieve the neglect of earlier years. The village elders grouped themselves into Peasant School Associations. Bookstalls were set up in the public offices of the communes; free libraries were founded. Temperance societies, which sprang up in scores after the Government monopolised the drink traffic, had their reading-rooms and supplies of literature. Adopting the methods and even the knapsack of the agency, the *zemtsvos* sent out their own hawkers to scatter good books among the people. Governors and high ecclesiastics (our

friendly Bishop Makari among them), assemblies of nobles and municipal councils co-operated on similar lines. Assistance was given by the agency—for the Scriptures held a foremost place in this popular movement — by the Society for the Spread of Education, and by the Holy Synod, with whose colporteurs the agency men heartily fraternised as comrades in the good cause.[1]

One of the leading spirits of the movement was Peter Ivanovitch Makushin, bookseller, printer, editor of a daily paper, founder of the Society for Promoting Popular and Elementary Education and of the first free circulating library in Northern Asia. In 1873, when everything had to be carried by horses from Moscow and St Petersburg, he opened the first Siberian bookshop, and in the following year became the Society's depositary on commission at Tomsk. As his business extended eastward, he took its Bibles and Testaments with him. In 1899, when his connection with the Society had lasted for a quarter of a century, he had bookstalls along 1500 miles of railway, and 125 bookshops in the more populous villages of Tomsk Government. During the last thirteen years about 25,000 copies of Scripture had passed through his hands, and he "hoped to continue the sacred task for many years to come."

The work of the agency was not concentrated on the railway. The colporteurs ranged in all directions—among the *zavods* of the Urals, where a prince and princess helped Mikhailof with his sales to the workpeople; among the Mohammedan miners on the Mongol frontier—with Cossack escort over the Sari Fan, so infested were the passes by Chinese and Altai Tartar robbers; among the villages along the Yenesei; among the villages on the Lena as far as Vitim, where there was gracious welcome from the revered

[1] The interests of higher education were promoted by the Technical Institute opened at Tomsk, alongside the University, in 1900, and by the Eastern Institute at Vladivostock, of which Professor Pozdnejeff, the translator of the Kalmuk Scriptures, was rector.

Bishop Melenti; to the long chain of gangs excavating the Obi-Yenesei canal, and here a small stock of Gospels was left with the priest, whose parish stretched over 340 miles and contained but twelve people during the long winter months; to Kiachta of the tea-traders, and to Old and New Selenginsk, where it appeared that the site of the old mission was now known among the Buriats as "the place where the angels lived"—a curious repetition, after thirteen centuries, of Pope Gregory's *Non Angli sed Angeli.* In the Amur-Vladivostock Division in 1897 Teploff travelled 8414 miles, and for that year the circulation in those regions was 3868 copies.

Starting from Ekaterinburg on 25th May in the same year, Mr Davidson travelled eastward by rail, carriage, raft and steamer; reached Vladivostock on 7th August, called on the Governor, Commandant of the Fortress, and Rear-Admiral, and obtained colportage passes for barracks and battleships; distributed grants of Scripture to various benevolent institutions; and returned to his post *viâ* San Francisco and London—a journey of 28,000 miles.

In 1898 Nazaroff descended the Obi to the sea. On the 30th August he sighted Obdorsk—the wooden church, dark Cossack log-houses, Ostiak *yourts* on the hills showing picturesque enough in the light of the departing summer, —and was hospitably entertained by the Fathers of the Orthodox Mission. It was the first time in Siberia that the Word of God had been carried within the Arctic Circle.

At this time the Ural district had been so plentifully supplied that men could be drafted where the need was greater; the Society had been so completely identified with the best interests of the country that book and knapsack practically superseded the permit for free passage; and with such privileges as the agency now enjoyed a colporteur might travel 4150 miles on an outlay of £3, 15s.

The resources of the agency were enlarged by the

publication of the Four Gospels in Yakut in 1898, and in the Kirghiz-Turki of the Great Horde in 1901. In the following year two great river journeys were accomplished. Along the shores where the Yenesei rolls into the Arctic Ocean and the June sun sleeps in the heavens all night, a colporteur in his boat visited the settlements of the Samoyeds, Ostiaks, and other tribes engaged in fishing and in hunting for furs and plumage; then, taking his passage in one of the barges that sail along the coast, landed wherever it stopped for traffic or for food and fuel. It was the old soldier Ivanov, whom we saw sailing under the Bible flag on the Irtish. At one of these wild villages he called on the priest (for the people, despite their heathen rites and superstitions, were Orthodox), and sold 13 copies; at another the chief of the tribe bought the New Testament: "I cannot read, but when some one comes who can, he will read the book, and we shall all gladly listen to its words." Altogether he distributed 258 copies. In the dark of the sunless winter, when the red alcohol drops to 68 degrees below zero, it may be that the inspired books are still brought to the lamp and read aloud in many a hut on the snowy tundra and the shores of the icy sea.

In these same months a raft under sail floated Sizooiev down the Lena. On the roads from Vitim to the mines crosses marked the spots at which people had been robbed and murdered, but he ventured into the lawless land and sold 488 copies among the gold-seekers. Then he hired a boat, and he and his wife taking it in turns to watch and sleep (for no one could be trusted), they stopped at all the villages along the river—poor places of perhaps five or ten huts where there were but few who could read. He arrived at Yakutsk in time for the summer fair. The Bishop was very good to him, and gave him an open letter to all the clergy in his diocese. The clergy also showed themselves friendly, and bought many copies of the Yakut Gospels,

of which they highly approved. He wintered at Yakutsk, "the coldest city in the world"—so cold that for a sixth of the year mercury froze in the bulb—and sledged for miles round to every church and *yourt* and handful of Cossack huts and school of six or seven children. In another decade, thought Sizooiev, when the schools had done their work, this Lena country would be a fruitful field for the Bibleman.

A year later he explored the Angarà, that marvellous river of ice-cold crystal blue which races down the league-long rapids from Baikal, splits on the huge "Spirit-stone," whence human victims bound hand and foot were once flung by the Shaman magicians, and sweeps on to join the Yenesei. For five years the peasants along its banks had received help from the Government on account of the bad harvests, and few could read in any of the villages. Here, too, lawlessness was rife, and the priest warned him never to leave any place on the river after sunset. Two hundred miles he travelled through the swamps and knee-deep mud of the *taïga*, the virgin forest, and sold £15 worth of Scriptures at the gold-mines beyond Ribnaya. It was the last of the perilous river journeys that we have to record to those dark and toilsome homes where, of all places, the Message of Life was most needed.

In the summer of 1902 Mr Davidson was once more in the East. The work in the Amur-Vladivostock region had been disorganised for a time by the Russo-Chinese hostilities, which were a part of the Boxer uprising, and the bombardment of Blagovestchensk; but happily every settler in the province, and especially on the great waterway, had been given the opportunity of possessing the Book of books. At Kharbin he met Mr Turley, the assistant agent for Manchuria, and at Port Arthur both were able to discuss various questions with Mr Bondfield, the agent for China. Arrangements were made with the bookseller at Kharbin to act on commission for the Society; and the Chief

Director of the Russo-Chinese Railway generously gave a free pass for a colporteur and 1800 lbs. of Scriptures between the frontier station and Moukden.

Our story closes on the eve of a Titanic struggle. In 1903 two of the colporteurs were called to the Russian colours, and many Testaments, Psalters and Portions were sold to soldiers passing through to the East. Early in 1904, though the transit of private goods had been suspended, Colporteur Saprikin reached Moukden by rail with a large consignment of Scriptures for the Russian forces in Manchuria. At Kharbin, Vladivostock and Nikolsk access was readily granted to the troops. On the 8th February the first shot was fired in the Russo-Japanese war.

During the nine years that Siberia had been an independent agency 484,586 copies of Scripture in more than forty languages were circulated. 205,762 were sold by colporteurs, the number of whom was gradually increased from eight to fifteen; 28,149 were given away; 29,226 were distributed among the sparse population of the Amur district. The expenditure on the agency amounted to £20,532, of which £6990 was spent on colportage; the receipts to £17,188.

The following is a summary, so far as figures are available, of the results achieved by the Society in European and Asiatic Russia during the seventy-six years which have elapsed since the formation of the St Petersburg Agency in 1828:—

Period	Circulation	(Colportage: cost)		Expenditure	Receipts
1828-1854	349,986[1]				
1855-1884	4,383,967	(	£16,570)	£336,249	£183,863
1885-1894	4,758,786	(1,580,126	53,536)	368,419	222,932
1895-1904	5,609,569	(2,196,224[2]	63,995)	350,726	249,652
	15,102,308	(3,776,350	£134,101)	£1,055,394	£656,447

[1] From 1845 to 1854, £8308 was spent on printing the Scriptures in Russia, and the receipts amounted to £8078.

[2] In the case of one year, 1897, for which the figures are wanting, a moderate estimate has been assumed.

In the first fifty-six years 4,733,953 copies were circulated; in the last twenty 10,368,355; in all 15,102,308 copies from 1828 to 1904. Of the total aggregate of Scriptures issued throughout the world by the Society in these seventy-six years one in every twelve copies went to the European and Asiatic dominions of the Czar.

CHAPTER LIX

THE STRUGGLE IN PERSIA

In the summer of 1886 the C.M.S. missionaries met at Julfa to discuss their position and prospects. Among other matters the conference put on record its earnest hope that the joint action of the two Societies would continue. The Bible Society depended on the Mission schools and congregations for its staff of workers, and "both in Persia and Baghdad the best, and the only, means of reaching the Moslem populations[1] was by the labours of colporteurs." The Gospel which the missionary was forbidden to preach, the colporteur carried through the land without obstruction from the authorities; offered to governors and viziers, to high priests, sheikhs and mullahs; sold in the bazaars, not in the summary fashion of English business, but with the protracted bargaining and volubility of the Oriental. It was the simplest and least questionable method of evangelising a people among whom so many were illiterate. For one who purchased, there were perhaps fifty who refused to buy; but most were eager to listen, to inquire, to dispute; passages were read from the Scriptures, and the colporteur spoke of Christ to numbers who might otherwise have never heard of Him.

Another resolution of the conference pressed upon the

[1] The Moslems in Persia were an overwhelming majority—over 7,500,000 in a population of 7,650,000. The old Christian Churches, and older still, a remnant of the followers of Zoroaster, survived; but there were not more than 40,000 Armenians, 30,000 Nestorians, 8000 Guebres, and from 15,000 to 20,000 Jews—in all, a minority of 98,000 souls.

committee of the Church Missionary Society the desirability of combining with the Bible Society in the occupation of Bushire. That sandy spit in the Persian Gulf was no longer the Mesembria of gardens and fruit-trees which Nearchus saw from his flag-ship, but it was the seat of a British Residency and a European "colony," a telegraph centre and man-of-war station, linked up by regular steam service with Baghdad and Bombay. Shortly after the conference, the Rev. T. R. Hodgson (Mr Maimon's successor at Baghdad) visited Bushire. The project awakened much interest among the European residents, and with the assistance of a local committee, who contributed liberally, premises were secured for a Bible depôt, school and residence; and in March 1887 work began with two young men from Julfa—one as depositary and colporteur, the other as teacher and evangelist. Moslem resentment was aroused; an appeal was made to the Shah to suppress school and depôt, but before his edict could be put in force it was reversed under the pressure of the local committee. The boycott urged by the mullahs died out by the end of the year, but Bushire was not yet to be one of the chief centres of the Persian Agency.

Yet another subject had engaged the attention of the conference—the thorough revision and completion of the Persian Scriptures. Of all mission work this was regarded as of such dominant importance that neither time nor money ought to be grudged to bring it to issue. With many duties dividing his energy—daily teaching in school, congregational cares, supervision of colporteurs, keeping of accounts—Dr Bruce's progress was inevitably retarded. While in England in 1887-88 he placed the circumstances so earnestly before the Committee at the Bible House that they could not resist his pleading for release from the general charge of the Society's operations. With the Persian version as his special work, he returned to Julfa, where, with the help of Dr Hoernle and Mr Hodgson, the affairs of the agency had

been admirably managed by Mr George Mackertich. After repeated advertisement and inquiry Mr James A. Douglas, M.A., of Merton College, Oxford, was selected as the Society's first independent agent. In February 1890 he reached Baghdad, where he was welcomed by Dr Bruce, and the two set out for Julfa *viâ* Bushire and the mountain road. As the copartnership of the two Societies had been superseded and the Church Missionary Society had withdrawn its subsidy from the work at Bushire, the depôt was given up, and arrangements were made for the storage of the Scriptures and the sale of them as opportunity offered.

The first serious trouble in connection with the agency occurred at Baghdad shortly after they had left. The primary cause was the recent baptism of a Persian mullah. He was seized and confined in the Persian consulate, but was afterwards allowed to quit the country. The Turkish Governor showed himself bitterly hostile; disturbances were hatched by a colporteur who had been discharged for dishonesty; the depôt was closed for nearly a month; Bible-men were arrested or deprived of their books; it was unsafe even for native Christians to enter the bazaars; but in a little time the tumult dwindled to the usual calm.

Mr Douglas made his first tour among the Bakhtiaris on the great plain and among the hills south-west of Julfa,[1] but within a few months family affairs recalled him to England and abruptly terminated his connection with the Society. Happily Mr Hodgson was at home on furlough. With the consent of the Church Missionary Society he accepted the post of agent, and returned to Persia in 1891. The snow was on the tops of the blue mountains, the silver bloom of the spring on peach and apricot in the valley, as he came in

[1] He met with little encouragement, except from Ispandier Khan and his brother Khosro, who commended the Scriptures to their people. Their names recall one of the mediæval episodes possible in modern Oriental life. Their father, Il Khan Hussein, was murdered by the Prince of Ispahan, and for seven years Ispandier lay in a dungeon in silver chains.

sight of Tokat, embowered in gardens and orchards. He found the grave of Henry Martyn, not under the dead pear trees beneath the steep hillside, but in the high terrace-garden beside the American chapel, overlooking the picturesque Armenian city. Hither the uncoffined remains had been brought by the American missionary Van Lennep, who set up an obelisk of native stone inscribed in English, Armenian, Persian and Turkish with a brief record of one who "was known in the East as a man of God."[1] "It was meet," wrote Mr Hodgson, "that we should turn aside and linger here a little while on our way to do the work in Persia, for which it may be truly said he gave his life."

Meanwhile the colporteurs, sometimes five, sometimes six in number, had travelled far and wide through the land—along the Persian Gulf eastward to Bandar Abbas, across to Muskat on the coast of Oman and to the savage islanders of Bahrein, among Persian towns and villages, from Baghdad to Hillah and Dizful, to Kirkûp and Mosul, and the northern plains with their mixed population of Moslems, Yezidis, Syrian and Chaldean Christians. What haunted regions were these, littered with the *débris* of dynasties and civilisations which had perished while Central Europe was yet but forest and fen! What a land of prophetic vision and Bible testimonies! "On December 20, 1885, we left Hillah for Kerbela"—and the Euphrates which flowed through Babylon flows through Hillah in the midst of the *tells* and hillocks which once were Babylon; and loose tiles and bricks stamped with the name of Nebuchadnezzar cover the spot on which Alexander died and Belshazzar "saw the part of the hand which wrote" on the palace wall. "At Kirkûp the colporteurs found an awakening among Moslems, Jews and Christians, the result of a previous visit,"—and at Kirkûp one of the mosques

[1] A grant for the purpose was made by the East India Company.—*Church Quarterly*, October 1881, p. 64; *B.S. Reporter*, 1891, p. 149; Van Lennep's *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 165-171.

contains the tomb of the three who walked unhurt in the midst of the fire, and with them walked a fourth, "like a son of the gods." "You are bold," said a Jew, "to speak as you speak to the Mohammedans; if we did so, they would slay us." "And were Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego fearful?" asked Benjamin Badal the colporteur. "In those times it was different," said Mollah Yakub the Jew. "Has the arm of the Lord then been straitened? or has God grown old?" "Nay, God forbid," answered the Jew, "but our faith has grown less." Benjamin was the first to visit Dizful, "where the Muslim priests and learned men treated him with great kindness"; and at no great distance from Dizful is "the river of Ulai," and among the ruin-heaps of Shushan the tomb of Daniel the Prophet gleams white under the palms; but the tombs of Esther and Mordecai are shown by the Jews in Hamadan, the Ecbatana of the Archæmenian kings. And over against Mosul, on the eastern bank of Tigris, are the mounds of Nineveh, and out of the bygone centuries speak two voices—one saying, "Thou hast had pity on the gourd, and should not I have pity on Nineveh?" but the other, "This is the joyous city that dwelt carelessly." Was it strange, amid such scenes and memories, that of the sacred books dispersed among the people the largest number should be in the Hebrew tongue?

It was now ten years since the work had begun. Over 30,000 copies of Scripture had been put into circulation by the agency, and perhaps no fewer by the American Society in Northern Persia. What results were visible? "There are many of whom we have heard," wrote those on the spot, "and some we have met, who are real and true Christians. There are hundreds who, while accepting the truth as it is in Jesus, are afraid openly to confess their faith. There are thousands who have got a glimpse of the truth and become anxious inquirers; and thousands—at one time bitter enemies of the Gospel—whose hearts have been softened by the visits

of the colporteurs." But the strongest proof of a wonderful change among the people was what took place at the Shiah shrine at Kerbela. The colporteurs went there for the first time in December 1885, and they carried their lives in their hands. "We lodged in a caravanserai, but were not allowed to use the vessels and water-pots, for, being Christians, our touch is pollution. We found hundreds of pilgrims weeping and wailing for Hoseyn. In this state of excitement and religious fury it was difficult"—it would in truth have been madness—"to expose our wares openly. We stayed three days, and with great caution succeeded in selling three copies." Seven years later the Scriptures were sold openly in the bazaars of Kerbela; "some who bought New Testaments read them aloud in the streets"; "the Sayyid Isa took us to Sheikh Ali, where we found an assembly of all the learned Sayyids his guests, and we remained a long time discoursing on the divinity and manhood of Christ and on the work of the Holy Trinity."

Mr Hodgson reached Baghdad in April 1891, and spent the year in the inspection and rearrangement of the districts of the agency. The American Mission at Mosul had undertaken the charge of the whole province of Mosul, and the Arabian Mission—an American mission to Mohammedans founded at Kingston, New York, in 1899—had selected Basra as the centre of its operations. When it had fairly settled into its work, with missionaries, colporteurs and Bible-shops, the Arabian Mission included in its field Mesopotamia, south of a line drawn from Nazarieh on the Euphrates to Kut-el-Amara on the Tigris, and the Arabian shores of the Gulf, including the pearl islands of Bahrein, as far east as Muskat, where the depôt recently established by the agency was transferred to its care. The Society granted it an annual subsidy of £90 and supplied it with the Scriptures at 50 per cent. below the ordinary selling price (about one-fourth of actual cost); subsequently further aid was given by the

American Bible Society; and throughout the period the mission steadily contributed to the work of evangelisation.

Early in 1892 Mr Hodgson made Bushire his headquarters, and opened a depôt in spite of the furious intimidation of the Moslem ecclesiastics and the Governor's peremptory orders to quit. Thus, with Mr George Mackertich in charge at Julfa, and with Mr Yakub Galustian as depositary at Baghdad (Dr H. M. Sutton of the Church Missionary Society giving a general oversight as treasurer), the agency entered on a period of increased activity and enlarged circulation. An attempt was made to secure a footing in Ispahan, which though but three miles from Julfa seemed to be in another world. A mission dispensary was opened, but on the appearance of a Bible depôt under the same roof, the clamour of the mullahs compelled the Governor to close the premises, and the stock of the Scriptures was removed to the British Consulate, pending an ineffectual appeal to Teheran for the usual freedom of trade. Sub-depôts were opened, however, at Sultanabad and at Kermanshah, which stood on the pilgrim route in the midst of a thickly populated district. The number of colporteurs was increased. Penetrating into Luristan, Benjamin found the valley of Amleh "black with the tents" of the Father of the Sword, was his guest for three days, sold the greater part of his Scriptures, and passing on with an escort from the frontier-guard to Khoramabad, set out afterwards on an eight months' tour between Yezd and Kerman. Johannes Galistan visited the isles of Kishm, Larak, Ormuz hoary with salt and no longer golden; came in touch along the coast with the half-naked Jaths and other predatory and half-nomad tribes; ventured later into Laristan, where he was beaten by a sheikh and left tied to a tree. Outside Lar his books were publicly burned by a powerful Mujtahed (matter for official remonstrance on the part of our British Resident), but, nothing daunted, he made a prosperous tour in Balochistan, "not less wild and

inhospitable than in the days of Alexander the Great." Among the Bakhtiaris Petrus Galistan was welcomed by many of the Khans (chiefs), and met in the villages men who had studied the Word and greatly desired that a missionary should be sent to baptize them. Farther north, towards Kashan, the people deplored their spiritual servitude: "our only comfort, reading the Scriptures in secret. Pray for us that Christ may give us liberty to confess our faith in Him without fear." From the Baghdad centre expeditions were made into the mountain wilds of the Kurdistan frontier; but in the towns and villages "between the rivers" Turkish officials and governors harassed the men with arrest and seizure of books.

In 1894-95 the circulation rose from an average of 3200 a year to 8330. More than that, the returns showed that the Sacred Book was reaching the Moslem population. At Baghdad half of the year's issues, in twenty-one languages, were Persian; at Bushire more than half, in fourteen languages, were Arabic; at Julfa (thirteen languages) two-thirds were Persian; and with slight and casual exceptions this Mohammedan character of the distribution was preserved through the troubled years which followed.

On the 6th September 1895 a new Bible House was dedicated at Julfa at the first Bible Society meeting held in Persia. The rooms were crowded by European and native friends, and Bishop Stuart, "successor" of the saintly Bishop French,[1] presided. After a brief account of the work of the agency during his four years of office,

[1] He and French went out to India together; one had been made Bishop of Lahore, the other Bishop of Waiapu, New Zealand; both had resigned their seats to become simple missionaries again. Bishop French, "perhaps the greatest of all C.M.S. missionaries," died, worn-out, at Muskat, "the gateway of Oman and Yemen," on the 14th May 1891. Two of the colporteurs gave him almost the last Christian fellowship he had before the end. "He showed us much love and sympathy," they wrote. "His house was far outside the town. He preached in the bazaar. The people were very angry, and some would have stoned him had he not escaped from their sight." When at Muskat in 1892 Mr Hodgson saw his grave, among those of English sailors, in Sheikh Gabar, a deep narrow ravine in the black cliff, accessible only from the sea.

Mr Hodgson took farewell on his transfer to Constantinople. Over the entrance of the house appeared its designation in Persian—Makhsan-i-Kitab-i-Muqaddas (Treasure-House of the Sacred Scriptures)—in Armenian, and in English. It was an auspicious sequel to the publication of the revised Persian Bible, which was one of the memorable events of 1895. The task of one-and-twenty years had been completed on the 6th December 1892, and Dr Bruce returned home. In 1893 an edition of the whole Bible was begun at Leipzig under his care and was finished in 1895; and in recognition of the great work accomplished the honorary degree of D.D. was conferred upon him at Oxford, and his name was enrolled as an Honorary Life Governor of the Society. So satisfactory was the reception of the new version that diglot Gospels (Persian-English and Persian-French) were authorised, and the transliteration of the Psalms and other Portions was undertaken by Mirza Norollah of the London Jewish Society at Teheran.

Mr Hodgson left for Turkey at the beginning of 1896, and Bishop Stuart, who was appointed a Vice-President in the same year, readily accepted the oversight of affairs until the vacancy could be filled. For three agitated and eventful years, as it turned out, the staff were under his wise direction. About the middle of January outbreaks of fanaticism occurred at Julfa and Ispahan; the mob awaited but a signal from one of the fierce Mujtaheds to begin a general massacre, and was only held in check by the prompt and menaceful action of the Prince Governor.

In May the whole country was thrown into confusion by the assassination of the Shah, Nasr-ed-Deen. Villages were plundered, travellers were robbed, traffic was stopped. At one village several caravans were hemmed in by Arab raiders, and kept for days under rifle-fire. "A tribal chief came to us," wrote Benjamin, who was in the thick of the trouble; "bought the Persian Psalms, and paid double the price,

in stolen rice." Under the evil influence of the Mujtahed of Lar, the colporteurs were assaulted and had their books destroyed at Lar and Jahrum. Yet, for the first time, the circulation ran into five figures (10,738 copies), and sub-depôts were opened at Shiraz and Yezd.

Next year matters were worse. During a disturbance in Julfa, towards the end of January 1897, a stone, flung at Benjamin, struck a Moslem on the forehead. The wound was trifling, but about a fortnight later the man died from natural causes. Benjamin was charged with having thrown the stone and killed him. An Ispahan mob assembled to carry the corpse into Julfa and attack the Christians, and to prevent further mischief the undaunted colporteur gave himself up to the authorities. For seventeen days he was imprisoned in chains; but the Prince refused to deliver him to the Mullahs, and through the interposition of Mr Preece, the British Consul, his chains were struck off, and he was sent for trial to Teheran in charge of a courier from the Legation and two of the Prince's horse-guards. It was a hard journey over the mountain ranges in the deep snow, but they arrived well, and Benjamin was kept for safety at the Legation. In April, the Hon. Charles Hardinge, *chargé d'affaires*, obtained his release on condition that he should not return to Ispahan. A curious illustration of Oriental justice!—but, thanks to the kind offices of Sir Mortimer Durand, plenipotentiary at Teheran, Benjamin received a firman from the Government, and "on Sunday morning, July 3, 1898"—a year and nearly five months after his surrender—he arrived at Julfa "well and hearty."

Meanwhile, there had been a dangerous agitation against the work of the Julfa Mission. The school for Mohammedan boys had been closed; the hospital and dispensary threatened; converts and inquirers persecuted and driven from their homes. The colporteurs in particular were marked men. Later, the Government, which had up to that time allowed

comparative freedom, prohibited colportage of the Scriptures and their distribution among Moslems. The Mullahs sacked the sub-depôt at Sultanabad, destroyed some of the books, carried off the rest, and drove the colporteurs from the town. At Bushire, the depositary, a Turkish subject, was protected by the agent of the Porte, the landlord sided with his tenant, and so the depôt was saved. At Baghdad Moslem intolerance was kindled to fresh energy by "the triumphs of Islam" in the Greco-Turkish war. Without licences it was impossible to prevent obstruction, but then and later even the British Embassy at Constantinople seemed powerless to obtain licences. Still, in the midst of arrests and confiscations there were many encouragements. At the Shiah shrine of Kerbela a Moslem schoolmaster bought Arabic and Turkish Portions for his scholars; in spite of the objections of his council the Governor of Jassan bought a Bible; in Shahraban the chief Mullah opposed the authorities, and of thirty-one volumes sold with his approval five were bought by the Governor himself. That year the harvest failed, a bitter winter killed vines and fruit-trees, and in 1898 famine prevailed in Persia and Turkish Arabia. In October the American missionaries resigned the Mosul district to Baghdad, and a sub-depôt was opened and colporteurs were stationed there. On the last day of the year the new agent, Mr Charles E. G. Tisdall,[1] at length relieved Bishop Stuart of his responsibilities.

1899; and the famine was scarcely abated. Benjamin's horse died on one of his journeys, and "the villagers feasted on its flesh, glad to get meat which they were too poor to buy." Strangely enough, it was in this time of depression and need that the circulation reached the highest figure yet

[1] Mr Tisdall, who came from North Queensland, was by birth a New Zealander. His brother, the Rev. W. St Clair Tisdall, who had been for some time on the C.M.S. staff at Julfa, completed a translation of the Four Gospels in the Kurdish of Kermanshah in 1900, and an edition of 5000 copies, printed by photographic process, was issued.

attained—11,696. The villagers gave straw, barley, eggs and bread in exchange for the sacred books. In places from which the colporteurs had been expelled a little while before, they were now able to sell openly; Governors who had ill-treated them were among the first to purchase and commend the Scriptures; people who had stoned and abused them made much of them and pressed them to stay. Even in the suburbs of Ispahan some work was done without rousing hostility.

Early in the year Mirza Norollah, on behalf of the Committee, presented a superb copy of the Persian Bible to Prince Salar-ed-Dowleh, second son of the Shah and Governor of Khamseh. The Prince kissed the inspired volume, sent the Committee his photograph with his best thanks for "so precious a gift," and conversed daily of the Scriptures with the Mirza, whom he kept as his guest for nearly a week. Others of the royal house were kindly disposed. The graciousness of the Shah's son-in-law protected the colporteurs in fanatical Shiraz; and at Yezd, where his Majesty's third son, Prince Jelal-ed-Dowleh, was Governor, a warning passed through the villages—"Mind how you speak with these men, because they enjoy the Prince's favour." Beyond these personal influences, however, the breath of a new day had passed over the country. The Moslem relied less upon the Koran than he used; his object now was to prove that the Scriptures had been falsified, or that the passages in the New Testament which promised the coming of the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, referred to the coming of Mohammed. "We replied," wrote Aviet Mardanian, "by quoting Acts i. 5, where the disciples are commanded not to depart from Jerusalem until the Holy Spirit came; that was 'not many days thence,' but Mohammed came not for six hundred years." The Bâbi contended that the New Testament had already been fulfilled; that Christ had come again, and was then living at

Acre.[1] To the rapid spread of Bâbism—in many places it included the whole population, and some of the highest Government officials were believed to be secret disciples of the Gate or of the One Coming—was ascribed the remarkable increase in circulation during this and the next two years. In the promises of Christ as to His second advent the Bâbis found clear proofs of the truth of their religion. On the other hand, the energy of the men from Julfa and Baghdad entered largely into the account. In the face of obstructions and interdicts they visited in addition to old places, 93 fresh villages and towns in 1899, 150 in 1900, 161 in 1901.

An untried region was traversed in 1900. Setting out from Nâin, Aviet Mardanian crossed the Kavirs, the awful deserts of shifting sand and salt, to Meshed, which was considered a part of the American field. At Anârek the people asked for "learned men" (missionaries) to teach them; at Toon, though most of the inhabitants were Bâbis, they were too much scared by the recent burning of four of their creed at Turbat to purchase the books; at Meshed itself, where he sold 250 copies, he found a native woman offering Gospels in the bazaars, and was assured that no one would oppose the opening of a depôt. The journey took nearly nine months, and he visited ninety-eight towns and villages, in twenty-one of which (within the bounds of the agency) no colporteur had worked before.

Wild scenes of lawlessness, brigandage, fanatical excitement marked the closing years of our survey: among them this incident. From 1896 the only colportage from Bushire had been undertaken by the depositary, and in August 1901 he and his assistant were dropping down the Karun River

[1] On the death of the Bâb, the sect branched off into the followers of his successor the Baha (the "Coming One") and the followers of Ezel. The Baha settled at Acre—died there in May 1902, and was succeeded by a second Baha. Ezel appears to have been still alive, in Cyprus, in 1905.—Wollaston, *The Sword of Islam*, p. 473; *see* also vol. iii. p. 366.

from one small village to another when they were attacked by Arabs. Their small craft was riddled with rifle-bullets, to force them to land. They were robbed of all they had, barbarously ill-used, and left, hungry and naked, to find their way after a day and two nights into Mohammerah.

In January 1902 news reached the Committee that the importation of the Scriptures in Persian had been interdicted. The prohibition, it was earnestly hoped, would prove but a temporary embarrassment. Sir Arthur Hardinge, the British Minister at Teheran, used all his influence on behalf of the Society, but the Government remained inflexible. For months the work was impeded—brought well-nigh to a standstill—in 1903. In some districts famine drove the people into the desert for grass and herbs to mix with their barley flour. The Bâbi persecutions at Ispahan, Yezd, and other places culminated in pillage and massacre. At Yezd alone about one hundred and twenty "men and children" were indiscriminately slaughtered, and colportage was stopped by the Prince lest the bloodthirsty mobs should turn upon the Christians. On the Ottoman side of the agency the Kurdish tribes were at strife, and the brigands were out. The scared caravans dared not travel except by day, and were stricken with fever by the heat. "Thrice was one caravan molested by highwaymen, who fought with the soldiers guarding it — men being killed and wounded on both sides. We, through God's mercy, were saved and lost nothing."

A new sub-depôt was started at Kirkûp, the junction of great trade routes, but Bushire it was decided to abandon until the embargo ceased.

One incident of hope remains for record. In the summer of 1903, at a private audience, Sir Arthur Hardinge presented to the Shah a splendidly-bound Persian Bible as a gift from the Society. His Majesty accepted the volume with pleasure and inquired as to its contents. At any moment from these pages, it was hoped, the Holy Spirit might breathe with

such power that the Word of God should have free course throughout the land of Persia.

During these twenty years were circulated 144,718 copies of Scripture within the limits of the agency—32,716 in the first, 112,002 in the second decade. The receipts amounted to £3715; the expenditure to £27,634, of which £10,286 was the cost of colportage. From the formation of the agency in 1879-80 over 155,000 copies of Scripture had been distributed; the agency expenditure had amounted to £30,766, and the receipts to £4287.

Two of the staff, Benjamin the first colporteur and Mr George Mackertich the first depositary, had borne their share in the work from the beginning of the agency. They had seen the Bible sold at the shrines of the Shiah saints, in the sacred cities of Persia and Turkish Arabia. They had seen a Gospel bought by a Moslem rhapsodist, that he might chant to the people the story of Jesus in the holy month of Moharram. In their time the Church Missionary Society had established itself in half a dozen stations; the London Jews Society, the Arabian Mission, the Assyrian Mission, the Holy Synod had entered the field; and at Mosul, Baghdad, Ispahan and Bahrein the Biblewoman had taken up the work which only women can do.

CHAPTER LX

THE LAST PHASES IN INDIA

India with its many voices recalls us to a land in which every fifth babe on the planet is born, and whose dusky myriads numbered as many polytheists as there were Protestants in the world. "As large as Europe west of the Vistula," it was even more emphatically than Europe a continent of old kingdoms, swarming races and countless languages. The palaces and temples of its holy cities and gorgeous capitals enthralled the imagination, but 90 per cent. of its people dwelt in innumerable villages. A land of Sacred Books and strange Messianic Epics, its religions included the most degraded forms of nature and devil worship. Among its population might be found a picture of many of the stages of human evolution—tribes of the cave and the rock-shelter, with their weapons of stone; polygamous tribes, polyandrous tribes, tribes in which the matriarchate prevailed; a system of feudalism which recalled the Middle Ages of the West. From the subtle-brained Brahmin and the chivalrous Rajput one ranged to the carrion-eating Dom, the aboriginal kinsman of the Australian "black-fellow," and the head-hunter of the eastern frontier.

At the opening of this final period of our history, British India contained 253,000,000 people. Though Christianity, in all forms, was professed by the small minority of 1,862,000, its adherents outnumbered the Sikhs (1,853,000), the Jains (1,221,000), and the Parsis (250,000); but Hinduism with its 187,937,000 flourished far and wide; Islam with 50,121,000

showed that every fifth Indian was a Mohammedan; there were 3,418,000 Buddhists; and the wild fears and dark rites of animism dominated nearly 6,500,000 of the hill-races.

Before resuming our account of the different Auxiliaries, it will be convenient to notice here certain schemes and developments which applied to all the divisions of the Society's Indian field.

On the 4th June 1883, at a meeting attended by representatives of the Zenana and other Eastern Female Missions, the Committee adopted the systematic employment of Bible-women in Hindu and Mohammedan countries. Next to caste, if not indeed more inveterately and elusively than caste itself, the social status of women and the seclusion of women of the better classes had obstructed the advance of Christianity in India. Suttee had been abolished, widow-marriage legalised, female infanticide suppressed;[1] but no legislation could raise the position of a sex held so low that even a sacred text from the Veda—the Veda in which, strange to say, some of the most beautiful hymns are ascribed to women—would be desecrated if read to a woman. Before the lattice of the harem and the curtain of the zenana the statesman and the missionary were helpless. The Bible alone, it was felt, could redeem the women of India from their lifelong degradation; for the most part the Indian Biblewoman was the only hope of its ever reaching them.

As the result of their decision the Committee offered European Protestant Missions and Zenana Societies a grant towards the support of Biblewomen while employed in promoting the sole object of the Society—the wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures; and since the overwhelming majority of Eastern women were illiterate, reading aloud the simpler parts of the Bible and giving lessons in reading to those willing to learn were included as a necessary part

[1] In 1891 another beneficent Act prohibited the completion of girl-marriage before the age of twelve.

of their work. The grant itself, offered at first for two years and afterwards for triennial periods, was not to exceed £12 per annum for any one Biblewoman, or an aggregate of £144 for any single society.

Simple as the scheme appears, it took an extraordinary time to get missionaries, superintendents, and even secretaries to realise either its "sole purpose," or its limitations and conditions. Secretaries too often considered it sufficient to claim the maximum grant, and to divide it among their missionaries abroad for the payment of a few additional female workers. In some cases missionaries declined the grant rather than furnish returns showing how it was spent. Others complained that they were not also supplied with Scriptures for distribution. Others again completely overlooked the distribution of the Scriptures, or took it for granted that it was "absolutely impossible" to effect sales among Eastern women, while frequent reminders were necessary that, admirable as they were, nursing the sick, preaching at holy fairs, conducting prayer-meetings, distributing tracts and selling hymn-books, teaching schoolgirls and preparing candidates for baptism or confirmation were altogether outside the scope of the subsidy. Time and firmness, however, brought about a better understanding, more effective work, and a clearer appreciation of the far-reaching character of the scheme.

In 1893 a cheque for £1000, share of a portion intended for a beloved daughter, was left at the Bible House by her bereaved father as a contribution to the scheme. With a gift of £300 added a few weeks later in memory of another beloved daughter, it was made the nucleus of a fund for Biblewomen in the East, which amounted at the close of the period to £6394.

In the first two years India received the whole benefit of fifteen out of twenty-five grants, and Burma, Singapore, China, Ceylon, Egypt, Syria and Palestine were included in

the subsidy. Mauritius and the Seychelles were admitted in 1886. Three years later the number of Biblewomen to whose support the Society contributed was 314: 209 in India, 57 in Ceylon, 19 in Syria and Palestine, 13 in Egypt, and 11 in China. The Burma and South Malaysian Agencies were added to the list in 1899, the Egyptian Agency in 1901, the Persian Agency in 1903. At that last date the number of women had increased to 604, of whom 44 were employed in India and 80 in Ceylon.[1]

In 1898 the system was adapted to the special requirements of the extreme East; China, Japan and Korea were grouped in a separate division, and up to 1903 (the last year for which we have statistics) from 43 to 72 women were at work. During that time, instead of subsidies, direct grants, amounting in the aggregate to £1627, were made in this Division through the Society's agents.

Though the tabulated results of the scheme must for the most part be taken as a whole, the following schedule will give an idea of the extent to which India and Ceylon were benefited. In the three years 1889, 1896 and 1903, the total number of Biblewomen was respectively 314, 486 and 604.

DISTRIBUTION OF BIBLEWOMEN IN INDIA

	Bengal-Assam	Madras	Bombay	North-West and Central	Panjab	Ceylon	Total
1889 . .	77	70	17	27	15	57	263
1896 . .	133	109	33	40	28	82	425
1903 . .	129	167	47	82	19	80	524[2]

The whole scheme involved an expenditure of £55,920 during the twenty years.[3] From 1889, when the returns became fairly complete and accurate, down to 1904, 58,437 copies of Scriptures were distributed gratuitously; 202,848

[1] And 9 in Burma, 15 in South Malaysia, 2 in Persia, 49 in Egypt, Syria and Palestine, and 5 in Mauritius and the Seychelle Islands.

[2] The figures cover not only the Biblewomen of the Missionary and Zenana Societies but those of the Indian Auxiliaries which took part in the scheme.

[3] Apart from China, Japan and Korea; apart also from the Biblewomen of the West, of whom there were over 100 in 1903.

were sold; 26,138 women were taught to read the Word of God, while the average number to whom it was read week by week throughout the year grew from 15,080 to 38,393.[1]

What experiences, what loving labours, what strange scenes and incidents of Eastern life lay behind those figures! From the work in towns and villages and the hamlets of outcastes; from the long journeys on foot in cold and heat; from the hours spent in hospitals, dispensaries and leper asylums; from the visits to zenana ladies, beggar-women, sweepers, women working in the fields, laundresses by the river-side, silk-weavers and cheroot-makers in the bazaars; from the bonfires of fetiches and household gods; from prayer-meetings held for the bereaved or "the possessed"; from pitiful service in time of plague or famine, how much might be told in evidence of the value of this work. Listen but to words like these: "Our Shastras tell of many incarnations; but no one became incarnate for sinners but Jesus." "Ah, I think this book must have been written by a woman—it is so kind to women." "Pray for me; I have no comfort in my gods!" "From childhood to grey hairs I have worshipped idols — none have helped me. Tell me how to get rid of this burden of sin. Who is He that you speak of?"

Through all comes the cry of the girl-widow. There is no son "to be his father's saviour." She has to light her husband's funeral pile. Her pretty dress and jewels are taken from her, and exchanged for coarse garments. Instead of brass vessels for food, iron is to be used for her the rest of her life. "I thought I should go mad with sorrow, but no words can comfort me like the words of this book."[2]

Last, there is the reproachful question which may well haunt the sleep of Christendom: "How long is it since

[1] Out of the 140,000,000 of women in India, according to the census of 1901, only 6 per 1000—considerably less than 1,000,000— were able to read.

[2] In 1901 there were in India 23,000,000 widows, and over 115,000 of them were child-widows under ten years of age.

Jesus, of whom you speak, died for sinful people?" And when it was explained that this happened very long ago: "Why then has God never told me of this? Surely He ought to have let me know of this long ago." And when the irreverence of imputing blame to God was gently rebuked: "Then where have you been all this time, that I never heard of this wonderful story? Look at me! I am now an old woman. All my life I have said the prescribed prayers. I have given alms. I have gone to holy shrines. My body is dried up and become as dust with fasting. And now I am told that all this is useless, and that Jesus died to take away my sins. Where have you been all this time?"

The Mohammedans themselves began to realise the disastrous consequences of the zenana system with which they had corrupted the home life of India, and at the great Moslem Educational Conference at Delhi in 1903 they repudiated the Purdah as forming an authentic part of Islam. But the degradation of woman through ten centuries had become its own Nemesis. The strongest opponents of the enlightenment, elevation and emancipation of women were the women themselves. Socially and morally they were reactionaries: "In nearly every case in which the wife has not been converted, the husband drifts back to heathenism."

The scheme for presenting the Scriptures in English to the University students of Bombay was developed by Dr Murdoch in 1884, and extended, with the co-operation of the Committee and the Religious Tract Society, to all the Indian Universities. Attractive copies of St Luke and the Acts for Matriculates, of the New Testament for successful candidates in the First Examination in Arts, and the Bible for those who graduated or passed any higher examinations were provided by the Committee, and companion volumes on Christianity and its Evidences by the Religious Tract Society. For the thousands and tens of thousands of young

men who competed for those coveted degrees, "the Bible Society," wrote Dr Grierson, "has done more than any other missionary agency." As a rule the books were highly prized and carefully read, and numerous letters revealed that the mission on which they were sent out was not fruitless. Unfortunately no note has been preserved of the numbers issued at Lahore and Allahabad. The records of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay show the presentation of upwards of 73,000 copies, but returns for several years are wanting. In the two years 1901 and 1902, nearly 16,000 Bibles, Testaments, and St Luke or the Four Gospels and Acts were distributed.

The cost of colportage and the double difficulty of finding suitable men and securing adequate superintendence of their work led to tentative arrangements for the transfer of this method of distribution, except in pioneer districts, to the various Missionary Societies. In July 1891 the subject was discussed at a Bible House Conference attended by delegates from twelve Missionary Societies; and a resolution, on which several delegates did not think themselves entitled to vote, was carried by a large majority. In January 1893 the resolution, which was to the effect that the Churches might, with advantage all round, take the lead in circulating the Scriptures—"the cost of carrying on the work being still, when needful, largely defrayed by the different Bible Societies"—was submitted to the Decennial Conference of Indian Missionaries at Bombay. The tendency to leave to the British and Foreign Bible Society the entire burden and responsibility of distribution, in addition to the charge of translation, revision and production of versions sold far below cost, was explained by Mr Organe, the secretary for Madras. The conference warmly acknowledged the generosity of the Society; the resolution was passed unanimously, and some steps were subsequently taken to give it effect.

As the busy years of the period went by, the need for earnest and able men to devote themselves to the management of the Indian Auxiliaries became ever more urgent. The want was made known by advertisement and public appeals; but it was not until 1889 that a second secretary, Mr J. A. Thomson, was found. He was appointed to Allahabad. Five more years passed, and early in 1895 the Rev. F. H. Baring set out for Lahore; later Mr Douglas Green was sent to Bombay, and Mr Crayden Edmunds sailed for Calcutta. In the following October the first conference of Auxiliary secretaries was held at Madras, and Bible-work in India entered on its last phase.

On the celebration of the fiftieth year of Queen Victoria's reign (observed in India on the 16th February 1887) a joint address of loyal congratulation was placed in the hands of the Viceroy by the Auxiliary Bible Society and the Christian Tract and Book Society of Calcutta. Ten years later, while Indian princes and picturesque contingents of Indian troops swelled the pageant of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in London, India itself was swept by a succession of disasters and troubles; yet in spite of famine as severe and widespread as ever known, of plague which ravaged the greater part of Western India, of earthquake which shook Calcutta and ruined tracts of the tea-districts of Assam, of sedition, riot and frontier war, 1897 was a conspicuous year of Bible-work. In 1901 the death of the great Maharani was mourned by none more deeply than by the women of India. A scheme promoted by Lord Radstock for a distribution of the Scriptures in memory of her Majesty resulted, so far as the figures can be traced, in the circulation of about 100,000 copies in the great vernaculars of the three Presidencies.

We may now pass on to the Auxiliaries.

CHAPTER LXI

THE LAST PHASES IN INDIA: THE CALCUTTA AUXILIARY

THE Calcutta International Exhibition of 1883-84 provided the opportunity for a magnificent display of the Scriptures. From the Cathedral Library were borrowed old and precious volumes in Hebrew and Greek. The Serampore College lent from its treasures early translations by the pioneer linguists. The Oriental Auxiliaries, Agencies and Missions contributed their living versions, and the Parent Society completed the tale of 160 languages with Bibles or Testaments in nearly every European tongue. Nothing was sold, but numberless language-lists and 28,670 Gospels and Portions in eight of the dominant Indian languages were taken away as mementoes of this great gathering from many lands.

The Calcutta Auxiliary entered heartily into the arrangements for the employment of Biblewomen. These were engaged by the local committee; applications were made for increased grants, and gradually the Auxiliary contingent increased to twelve in 1892 and sixteen in 1903.

Apart from the distribution of the Scriptures to University students, advantage was taken of every opening afforded by the spread of education. In 1885 the Home Committee undertook the expense of a special edition of the Gospels and Acts in Bengali for presentation to every primary school teacher in the province. Applications from public libraries and reading clubs for English and Bengali Bibles

were readily granted by the Auxiliary; and in 1888 — a curious sign of new currents of thought and interest — copies of the Word of God were provided for a society formed for "the study of Christ" by young Hindus who had invited a Christian missionary to preside at their meetings.

Funds were always available for missionary Bible tours, but comparatively few of these were undertaken in the eighties.

Efficient colportage continued as of old to be one of the Auxiliary's hardest problems. A training class was established in 1884 to equip the younger men with a knowledge of the book they distributed, and to inspire them with enthusiasm for their sacred calling; and the effect of these times of conference became apparent in more courageous and successful work. Of the sacrifices made by the Society in their endeavour to place by these means the Word of God in all the homes of the Indian people, a casual note has been preserved in the Report for 1886-87.

In that year the total circulation was 88,850 copies, of which some 41,700 were sold by about fifty colporteurs. The average price realised was about $\frac{7}{8}$ of a penny per copy; the cost of selling them was $5\frac{1}{4}$d. apiece. In other words, sales amounting to £152 were obtained by an expenditure of £922. The whole question, however, was connected with a larger matter—the relationship of Missions to the Bible Society and the distribution of the Scriptures —for which new lines were being laid out. To a considerable extent colportage was transferred in 1888 from the supervision of the Auxiliary to the missionary societies on a scheme of subsidies which should enable the missions gradually to adopt the system as part of their regular work, the colporteurs being members of the mission staff. So far as the change took place, the result was satisfactory. Sales

increased; the rise in 1893, when the Auxiliary reached its maximum circulation, was ascribed in a large degree to missionary activity; and in 1896 we read of "missionaries everywhere realising as was never realised before the part that the Written Word must take in the evangelising of India." The scheme, however, did not produce the full effect anticipated. In 1898 the Committee found it necessary to arrange for special grants to individual missionaries, to be renewed year by year so long as that course seemed desirable. In 1901 the Auxiliary provided in this manner for the partial or entire support of sixteen colporteurs; and although the number of copies sold to missions (over 50,000 in a total sale of 107,000) showed that these last were making colportage part of their normal work, the Society continued to bear the main cost of colportage conducted through missions. In addition, there was, of course, the opening of new fields and the exploration of the regions that lay beyond the range of the missions, and this work was left to the secretary for Calcutta and the Auxiliary's own staff.

In July 1887 the Auxiliary recorded the retirement of Sir A. Rivers Thompson, K.C.S.I., who for more than thirty years had been a constant subscriber, had long served on its committee, and had been its president since 1882. Shortly after his return to England his name was added to the Society's roll of Vice-Presidents.

In 1889 the annual circulation of the Auxiliary ran for the first time into six figures—102,769. The end of that year was marked by an incident which had more than one meaning for the Bibleman and the missionary. On the 1st December a train of Parsi priests set out from Poona, bearing, in accordance with their holy books, the sacred creature of fire from the chief temple in the Deccan to Calcutta, where a wealthy merchant had built a fire-temple for his own use. They were forbidden to come in contact

during their journey with any one not of their order, or to eat food prepared by a layman. Neither must they touch wood. Travelling by rail was out of the question. They went on foot, winding far out of their way to avoid the wooden bridges over the rivers. Three months later they reach Howrah and the pontoon bridge over the Hooghli to Calcutta. It was their last difficulty, and the conditions were stringent. But the authorities kept the bridge clear as they passed, and the High Priest sanctioned (by telegraph) their crossing the wooden structure in shoes soled with iron. So the sacred fire was brought for 1500 miles across India. If Fire-worshippers could do this!—

Nearly fifty years had gone by since Dr Haeberlin's resignation (1846), when the devoted volunteers of the various missions were once more relieved of the care of the Calcutta Auxiliary by the appointment of Mr Crayden Edmunds, M.A., as secretary in October 1895. Formerly secretary of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, he was naturally drawn to the students of Bengal, and one of his early official acts was to address the graduates and others at the Sanskrit College before distributing the Society's gifts under the University scheme. He initiated the establishment of small book-depôts to bring the Scriptures to the notice of masses of the population. Seven of these were in operation in 1898—the most conspicuous that at the landing-place of pilgrims to Puri and the shrine of Jagannath; eleven in 1903, when the sales from them amounted to 19,477 copies and £86 was voted by the Auxiliary to various societies for their upkeep.

In the year of calamities, 1897, nearly 12,000 copies were distributed among the sufferers in famine-stricken districts; and in 1898 one of the secretary's district tours took him to the scenes of the great earthquake in Assam, where the villages of Shella, Sobhar and Nongwar slid down

the hills, burying the inhabitants, and the Welsh mission work of generations — houses, chapels, hospitals, schools, valued at £15,000—was swept away in a few minutes.

In 1899 the Bible cause of India was strengthened by the arrival of an eloquent advocate and Vice-President, Bishop Welldon. At the first meeting in the New Year at the Bible House the newly-appointed Metropolitan took leave of the Committee in words which history had made almost a truism: "It is impossible to provide sufficient missionaries for India, and the most pervading and persuasive of missionaries is the Bible itself. Where the living man cannot go the Bible does go, and its voice is heard perpetually."

This was Mr Edmunds's last year. He was ordered home invalided in 1900.[1] For a time the Rev. A. W. Young acted as honorary secretary to the Auxiliary, and when he left for England on furlough in 1903 provision was made for the celebration of the Centenary by the transfer of Mr Douglas Green from Bombay. With the kind concurrence of the London Missionary Society, Mr Young was then taken over by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and returned to Calcutta as regular secretary.

The version work of the period covered fourteen languages. The "simple and idiomatic" Bengali translation of St Matthew commissioned in 1883 was issued three years later, and the board of missionaries, Indian pastors, and Bengali scholars proceeded with the rest of the New Testament on the same popular lines. St Mark appeared in 1887; St Luke in 1892; and St John in 1894. The Acts were published in 1901; Romans followed in 1902; and as the period closed 1 and 2 Corinthians were in the press, and other Epistles had been translated. The number of

[1] One of the interesting events of 1900 was the distribution of 3495 Gospels in various languages among postal employees in Bengal as a gift from their "comrades" of the Postal Telegraph Christian Association in England.

Scriptures printed in Bengali during the twenty years was upwards of 1,312,000. Of these 21,000 were Bibles, and included Dr Rouse's revision of Wenger's version, which the kind permission of the Baptist Missionary Society enabled the Committee to print in 1897. That eminent scholar had undertaken yet another recension with a view to a stereotyped edition when failure of health and sight —he had already lost the use of one eye through excessive proof-reading—compelled him to leave for England. On his recovery in 1900 Rouse returned to Calcutta; two years later printing began in a new clear type which saved sixty pages in the bulk of the Bible, and in 1904 the new Bengali Bible had been stereotyped as far as 1 Chronicles xvii.

To the Mussulman-Bengali Scriptures, of which 89,000 copies were printed during the period, a new translation of St John by the Rev. Mathura Nath Nath and Dr Rouse was added in 1898.

The work in Santali was taken up in 1884 by a committee drawn from three missionary societies, with the Rev. F. T. Cole as editor. The last pages of the New Testament left the press in 1888, just twenty years from the reduction of the language to writing and the publication of the first book, St Matthew. It was one of the curious facts of the language that the revisers could not agree as to the proper Santali word for "sin." The matter was compromised by dividing editions between two renderings. The early difficulty of finding an equivalent for "God" rose again in 1897, when a translation of the Old Testament by the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud and his colleagues of the Indian Home Mission was placed at the disposal of the Society. The hope of federating the Church Missionary Society, Free Church, Indian Home, and Bethel Santal missions in a "Union" Santal Bible led to considerable negotiations, and finally in 1899 to a conference at Benagaria, with Mr Crayden Edmunds in the chair. The

The Rev. J. Gordon Watt.

translators, while reserving the right "possibly to ask" for the reading *Thakur* for "God" in their copies, agreed to the use of *Isor*, and concurred in arrangements which carried the version (Genesis—1 Samuel) through the press in 1904.

In all 67,500 copies of Scripture were printed in these years for the Santals. What a change had passed over these wild tribes of the hills and jungles of Chota Nagpore! In 1897 a public collection was made by several Christians as a thank-offering for preservation from death by lightning, and the money was voted to the Society which provided them with the Book of Life. In 1901 the sum of Rs.71 was received from Santali churches in the Rajmahal District in response to a Bible Society appeal.

For the Kols, the darker aboriginal race whose homes were scattered among the Santals, there were published 19,000 copies of Scripture,—in 1885, the Acts, translated by the Rev. L. Beyer; in 1888, the Epistles of St Peter and St James by the Rev. A. Nottrott; and in 1895—just in time for the jubilee of the Gossner Mission in Chota Nagpore—the whole Mundari New Testament. Three years afterwards the Gospel of St Mark was printed in the Uriya character for the tribesmen in Sambalpur. The first instalments of the Old Testament, by Nottrott, left the mission press at Ranchi in 1899, and in 1904, when the Psalms appeared, Ruth was ready for the printer and much of Isaiah was in manuscript.

Another group of these primeval men in Chota Nagpore, Raigarh, and Sambalpur were the Uraon, as their Aryan-tongued neighbours called them, the Kurukh, as they called themselves: a population of 500,000 or 600,000, known far and wide as sturdy day-labourers. Among them one bright child, Mansiah Ekka, born of Christian parents, was trained for the Lutheran ministry, became teacher of Greek in the Gossner Theological Seminary at Ranchi, and translated the Gospels of Mark, John and Luke,—the first translation

ever made, it seems, by one of the aborigines of India. Mark and John were carried through the Oxford press in 1895 by the Rev. F. Hahn, and Luke was printed by the Auxiliary in 1899. The Epistles of St John, translated by Mr Hahn, were published in 1900, and the Gospel of St Matthew was in hand at the Centenary.

Suddenly in 1887, at the age of seventy-three, died the gifted Dr Buckley while engaged on the revision of the Uriya version of the Old Testament. Few men were endowed with such a faultless memory of Holy Writ; the Psalms and the New Testament he knew by heart. His work was taken up by the mission at Cuttack on a yearly subsidy of Rs.500. Printing, at the Society's expense, was begun; Portions were issued as they received final approval; and 1902 saw the completion of the revised text, on which Buckley's colleague the Rev. Shem Sahu had laboured throughout, and the missionaries, W. Miller, T. Bailey,[1] and J. G. Pike at various stages. A complete Uriya Bible was made up from a uniform edition of the Cuttack New Testament, the use of which with the alteration of denominational readings was sanctioned by the Baptist Society.

For the Rajmahal Hill-folk the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark in Malto, by the Rev. E. Droese, were published in 1887, and his version of the Psalms followed in 1889.

Two thousand copies of St Mark in Magadhi, the vernacular of the district about Patna, Gaya, and Monghyr, were printed in 1890 under the editorship of Dr G. A. Grierson, at that time a magistrate at Gaya. The text was a revision of Carey's, whose New Testament, published sixty-six years before, was a book which the country people examined with pleasure and wonder.

In the same year (1890) the Gospel of St Matthew in a dialect

[1] Mr Bailey died in 1903. He and the Rev. John Sharp, the Editorial Superintendent, had shared the same cabin on their way out to India as young missionaries in 1861.

of the Nicobar Islands added a new language to the Society's catalogue. This was its story. From 1768 to 1787 the Moravians strove to plant the Cross in this cluster of savage isles in the south-eastern waters of the Bay of Bengal. When much suffering had been endured and twenty-four of the brethren had laid down their lives, the mission was withdrawn. More than three-quarters of a century later Mr F. A. de Roepstorff was appointed Assistant Government Superintendent to the Andaman and Nicobar groups. He took a deep interest in the people, gained their affection, mastered their language, and translated, to their delight, many Bible stories. He put himself in communication with the Committee, who welcomed him as a future translator. While on furlough in 1878 he discovered in the Moravian archives at Herrnhut—in faded ink and small crabbed penmanship—a version of St Matthew in the Nancowry dialect. He transcribed the MS. and added linguistic notes; but on his return to the islands he was shot down by a sepoy, and after his death these results of his work were published by his widow. This was in 1884. Six years later, the Gospel, revised by the Rev. J. P. Ashton of the London Missionary Society, was issued by the Auxiliary.

Amid its glorious panorama of mountains, with the snowy peaks of the high Himalayas rising like a vision in the heavens, Darjeeling stands on the borders of Nepal, Bhutan, and Tibet—three lands which were closed against the missionary, but in which walked the mighty spirits of the New Testament. Here the Calcutta Auxiliary had a flourishing Branch, and here in the bracing air of the hills translation in many tongues was steadily carried forward.

In 1893 the Committee, which had hitherto assisted the Church of Scotland Mission at Darjeeling, took over the Nepali version. It had then reached Ephesians. The Rev. A. Turnbull continued the work of translation. The books already published he revised and re-issued, and in

1902 Nepal had its New Testament. When he left in 1898 his pundit Ganga Prashad Pradhan, an expert of nearly twenty-five years' standing, proceeded with the version under the direction of the Rev. R. Kilgour.[1] His drafts were sent to Scotland for revision and correction, and in 1904 Genesis was ready for the press, and the Old Testament was translated as far as Daniel.

Three miles south of Darjeeling, and 1000 feet higher, so that it is often lost in swirling mists, stands the village of Ghoom, about 60 miles from Tibet. Here the Scandinavian Alliance Mission had their headquarters. In one of the rooms of their strong stone house Tibetan lads printed the Tibetan Scriptures in late years. The Epistles and Revelation which Jäschke did not live to see through the press at Berlin were issued there in 1885. In 1887 Redslob and Heyde were completing the translation of the Psalter at Kailang, and the Committee sent them lithograph paper, ink, and other materials to publish it. They revised the New Testament with their Lama in the early nineties,[2] and in 1896 the Moravian Mission Board approached the Committee for another edition. The literary excellence of Jäschke's version, however, was better suited for a cultured people, and in 1898 his old colleague Heyde, the Rev. J. F. Fredericksen of the Scandinavian Alliance, Mr J. R. Macdonald, a Government official in Darjeeling, and the Rev. Graham Sandberg, chaplain of the Bengal Establishment, were appointed to revise the text on the lines of greater simplicity.[3] The veteran Heyde, hoary as the snow-peaks amid which he had toiled so long, was transferred to Ghoom to facilitate progress. St Mark had been sent out in its new form, when Fredericksen—metallurgist, type-founder, trainer of the

[1] Appointed in 1909 Editorial Superintendent in succession to the Rev. John Sharp.

[2] Frederick Adolphus Redslob died in 1891.

[3] In connection with the revision the catalogues of the Vatican and Propaganda Libraries were searched in vain for some Tibetan translation of the Scriptures.

printers—died at Ahmedabad in 1900, while away on famine duty; and his place was taken by Edward Amundsen, who had been driven out of China by the Boxer rising.[1] The revision proceeded steadily, and the New Testament appeared in 1903.

Last there were four languages in the regions of the North-east. There was no sign of flagging in the work of the Welsh Mission in the Khasia Hills. Under the editorship of the Rev. J. Roberts the Revised New Testament and the Pentateuch left the press in London in 1885. The Psalms appeared in 1890. In 1891 the second and third parts of the Old Testament (Joshua–Job, Psalms–Malachi) were ready for circulation, and formed with a reprint of the New Testament the first Khasi Bible, in four volumes. In 1897, while the Khasia Hills were rocked and rent asunder, and villages were swept away, and rivers disappeared, and the heathen fled in terror to the Christians and their teachers for refuge, the labour of fifty years was crowned by the issue of the complete Bible in a single volume.

In 1896, 1899 and 1901 the Auxiliary published St John, St Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles, translated into Manipuri by the Rev. W. Pettigrew of the American Baptist Mission Union. The kingdom of Manipur was closed, but here too the Apostles passed unseen through the gates, and the language was also spoken in the border country of Assam, Burma and Bengal. The same books were translated by J. H. Lorrain, and F. W. Savidge, two of Robert Arthington's missionaries, into Lushai, the tongue of the dominant race in the North Lushai Hills, Assam. In 1898 the Gospels were published in London by the Committee, and the Acts followed in 1899.

The New Testament in Assami, the work of Nathan

[1] In 1902 Mr Admundsen was appointed sub-agent in China, for work on the Chinese frontier of Tibet.

Brown of the Baptist Mission Union, had appeared as far back as 1847, and at later dates portions of the Old Testament were published. In 1900 the Committee took in hand the first complete Old Testament for the growing congregations in the great Brahmaputra valley.[1] One of the translators, the Rev. Dr A. K. Gurney, was appointed editor, and in 1903 an edition of 1500 copies left the press in Calcutta.

So the record of the Calcutta Auxiliary comes to a close.

During the twenty years 2,031,600 copies of Scripture were circulated; and the expenditure of the Society amounted to £27,094, of which £6375 was spent on colportage, and £1659 in connection with version work.

[1] The number of Christians had increased in the ten years ending 1901 from 16,888 to 35,969

CHAPTER LXII

THE LAST PHASES IN INDIA: THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES

We left the North India Auxiliary with its voluntary organisation overstrained by pressure of work. Where money could help, the Committee were open-handed. They provided for the removal of the depôt to one of the finest sites in Allahabad, for an increase in the number of colporteurs, for new sub-depôts in various towns. But what was needed most was a man, and happily a man of the right stamp was forthcoming. Lewis D. Wozencroft was one of Mrs Weitbrecht's *protégés*; for six years a soldier in India; at heart an Indian missionary. He reached his post in November 1884. His wife (a daughter of Principal Jenkin of Coward College) relieved the hon. secretary, the Hon. G. E. Knox, of most of his Auxiliary correspondence, while Wozencroft, quickly improving his Urdu and Hindi, set about training the colporteurs, became "the life and soul of them," took them out in little bands to the villages, festivals and fairs, until most of the thirty-eight saw for themselves the real meaning and method of Bible-work.

Suddenly this enthusiastic spirit was called away. He set out in May 1886 for a tour in the Hill country. His coolies deserted him in the pestilential heart of the Terai, through which he had to pass. He went on with his colporteurs as best they could, but the people were so eager to hear of Christ that he could not leave them. They never reached the Hills. At the end of July he

returned to Allahabad, a stricken man. On the 2nd September the end came, in a peaceful gladness that he died in the service of the Society.

Again the burden of the Auxiliary fell wholly upon overtaxed volunteers. Busy Government official as he was, and not without his own cares and bereavements, Mr Knox gave from "one to two hours a day to correspondence and the direction of colporteurs"; but there was little time for writing accounts of the work done, and in the next three years—during which upwards of 110,000 copies were circulated—no report was issued.[1]

Once more the Committee were fortunate in securing a skilled workman; and in November 1889 Mr J. A. Thomson was heartily welcomed at Allahabad as secretary for North India. He had been the Scottish Bible Society's agent in Japan for ten years, and for part of the time had also represented the British and Foreign. Everything sprang into fresh and ordered activity. Spreading northward, the colporteurs ranged through the distant Hill villages in Kumaon, "selling to the Brahmin in his temple and the fakir in his lonely cave," and even ventured across the jealously guarded borders of Nepal. The number of missionaries, evangelists, and teachers was also on the increase, and the sound of the Gospel was heard where no preacher had ever been before. For a moment the demand for the Scriptures outran the press, and in the emergency application was made to Dr E. J. Lazarus, the proprietor of the Medical Hall Press, Benares. The response was a beautiful edition of 10,000 Hindi New Testaments and 80,000 Gospels, presented with splendid liberality to the Society; and the gift was accompanied with a set of stereo moulds from which another 10,000 copies and many editions of the Gospels and Acts were subsequently printed.

[1] In 1901 the Hon. G. E. Knox (brother of the Bishop of Manchester) and the Bishop of Lucknow (Dr. Clifford) were enrolled among the Society's Vice-Presidents.

The year 1892 brought with it the boon of a single-volume High Hindi Bible, in an edition of 5000. It replaced the old copies in three bulky tomes weighing eight pounds, and was sold at one rupee—a little under half its cost, but dear enough for people whose earnings were often less than eight rupees a month.

Mr Thomson resigned for family reasons in 1893. He was succeeded by the Rev. T. S. Wynkoop, whose experience in the American Presbyterian mission field, which he entered in 1868, together with eight years' service on the committee of the Auxiliary, gave him a clear insight into the needs and possibilities of North India. His first report, that for 1894, on the eve of the Auxiliary's fiftieth year, pictured in lively colours a new departure—hearty public meetings at Naini Tal and Mussourie, with here the Lieutenant-Governor, there the Bishop of Lucknow in the chair; stirring talks with students and professors of the theological seminaries of the Presbyterians and Episcopal Methodists; cordial receptions at the conferences of the Church Missionary Society at Agra and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland at Ajmere; ungrudging acknowledgment that without the Society recent missionary labours and successes would not have been possible; offers and promises of staunch co-operation; resolutions in synod and conference ordaining an annual collection for the Bible Society in each of the churches of the American Methodist and Presbyterian Missions. In 1893 nine native congregations contributed; in 1894, fourteen; in 1895 there were over a hundred.

Branches of the Auxiliary were formed at Agra and Benares. The Auxiliary appears to have started its own Biblewomen in 1893, and the number increased from 5 to 13 in 1896, 17 in 1900, and 20 in 1903. Its own staff of colporteurs (from 40 to 60 men more or less regularly employed) was not superseded by the Missionary

Colportage movement; and a "summer school" for a fortnight in August brought out their best qualities of tact, endurance and zeal. They were used to distribute relief in the famine years; their wives nursed dying mothers and emaciated children; and their compassion opened many hearts to the light of the Gospel.[1] The standard of work, too, was raised, and seventeen men attained an annual sale of 1000 copies, where only six reached that figure a year or two before. The average pay was less than 16s. a man per month.

Here, as elsewhere, their work, checked by hardship and ill-treatment, was full of heavenly surprises. They brought in candidates for baptism; they sold copies which led to the conversion of whole families, sometimes even of whole villages; and far beyond their dreams of usefulness, their labours were found by the missionary to have made plain his way. In a distant village in the Gorakhpur district, the Rev. C. Petch (Church Missionary Society) discovered that the chief man had heard of Christ at a mela far away in Bengal, and had brought home with him the Hindi New Testament. Deeply impressed by its contents, he built a little shrine on his verandah and employed an old Brahmin to read aloud a chapter daily. The villagers came and listened, and finally made the book their rule of life. They still worshipped idols, because they found no text absolutely forbidding idol-worship, and they held the doctrine of transmigration, which seemed to them sanctioned by John iii. 3; otherwise they were believers in the New Testament.

Another departure, beautiful with the promise of spring, was due to Mrs Wynkoop. In 1898, when the North India Children's Branch, which she founded, held its second anniversary, the membership numbered 1500; the Bishop of Lucknow presided, and in the large tent lent to the young

[1] As among other ignorant and superstitious people, however, they were sometimes charged with spreading the plague.

people by the Lieutenant-Governor, were displayed 5444 Hindi Gospels, the first-fruits of their yearly offerings of two annas (2d.) each. Indian boys and girls and English children took up the idea with enthusiasm. Even the little orphans of the famine years worked for the cause in their small way, sewing, watering flowers, helping with the harvest, going so far as to set aside part of the allowance of corn given daily to each to be ground in the hand-mill and cooked with a little spice. Few sights could have been more touching than that of these small mortals bringing their gifts at the anniversary of 1899. "They marched over to the tent singing hymns, and a number of them carrying on their heads baskets of grain, flour and spice, just as the women in Hindu weddings carry presents to the bride." The girls brought 96 lbs. of grain, two dozen eggs, and a basket of spices; the boys 120 lbs. of flour; and their offerings sufficed to print 250 copies of St John in Hindi. The Naini Tal and Mussourie children were brought into the movement, and in 1903 the Branch was 4000 strong; their yearly contributions of two annas (2d.) mounted in the long run to Rs.1833, and 49,943 Gospels left the press as their share in the work of the Auxiliary.

Two incidents in the details of later years fasten on the memory — one the distribution of the Scriptures in their own tongue among the Boer prisoners of war; the other, an order for twelve Hindi Bibles, prizes won in a Scripture examination held all over India by the India Sunday School Union. The winners—and this was a thing as beautiful in its own way as a mediæval legend—were poor sufferers in a leper asylum, to whom the Word of God had long been a solace and a stay.

During Mr Wynkoop's absence on an eighteen months' furlough, Dr J. M. Alexander of the American Presbyterian Mission, the Rev. G. J. Chree, Chaplain of the Church of Scotland, and the Rev. H. V. Taylor of the Students'

Volunteer Union acted in turn as honorary secretary; and he returned to find an ascending record of colportage.

Hindi, the great vernacular of North India, stood foremost in the version work of the period. The revision committee of 1883 proceeded slowly with the New Testament, partly through pressure of missionary duties, partly through desire to bring the revision as near as might be to finality. The Four Gospels appeared in a pretty edition at one pice each (¼d.) in 1888, the Acts in 1889, and other instalments at intervals.

About the time the one-volume Hindi Bible was published, a fresh translation of the Old Testament was undertaken by the Rev. Dr Hooper of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Dr S. H. Kellog of the American Presbyterian Mission, and the Rev. J. A. Lambert, of the London Missionary Society. By 1897 they had reached the end of Proverbs. In May 1899 Dr Kellog—devoted missionary, brilliant philologist, winsome comrade—was killed by a fall from his bicycle among the hills at Landaur, Mussourie. Genesis and Exodus left the press in that year. Upon the 15th January 1900 the little company of scholars sang the Doxology "with thankful hearts" over the completion of their task. Printing was pushed on as rapidly as possible. The Psalter was issued in 1901; a tentative edition of the whole volume in 1902; and the period closed with Centenary editions of the Old and New Testaments.[1] During the twenty years 1,376,900 copies of the Scriptures (including 45,600 Old Testaments and 159,500 New) were published in Hindi.

The Gospel of St Matthew in Tehri, one of the Garhwali dialects, was translated by the Rev. Thomas Carmichael (Church Missionary Society) at Dehra, in the fair valley of old Hindu legend between Garhwal and the Jumna,[2] and

[1] The Old Testament was printed again in 1905 after a final revision by Dr Hooper and Mr Lambert.

[2] Dehra Dun was part of Kedarkhand, the mythic abode of Shiva, whose name still lingers on the Shiwalik Hills. Here Rama was purified after the slaying of Ravana, and here the Pandus stopped on their way to death on the snowy range.

published by the Auxiliary in 1895. Here, too, he translated Matthew into Jaunsari, the language of the district, and saw it through the press in the same year, while on furlough in England. He was busy with the Jaunsari version up to the time of his death, and his successor the Rev. T. Law saw the Gospel of St Mark through the press in 1904.

As the Gonds in the C.M.S. district round Mandla did not easily understand the Gospels in the Chindwara dialect, Babu Phailbus began a new translation under the supervision of the Rev. H. D. Williamson. Luke in Mandla was printed by the Auxiliary in 1895, John in 1897, and the Four Gospels at the end of the following year.

The remnant of yet another primeval Kolarian tribe—perhaps 100,000—was intermingled with the Hill-folk of the Central Provinces. Their language was Kurku, and the Gospel of St Mark, translated by the Rev. J. Drake of the Kurku and Central India Hill Mission, was issued by the Auxiliary in 1900.

The same Gospel was published (as a Centenary Memorial) in Chattisgarhi, a dialect of Hindi, spoken by upwards of 3,000,000 people in the Central Provinces, Madras, Bengal, and Assam. The price was half an anna (½d.), and the whole edition of 2500 copies was sold within six months. Another Gospel—St Luke—had been begun, when the translator, the Rev. Julius Lohr of the U.S. German Evangelical Mission at Raipur, died suddenly at Calcutta in April 1904.

The issues of the North India Auxiliary in the course of the twenty years amounted to 1,517,850 copies, by far the greater part in Hindi.[1] The circulation rose from 173,800 in the first five years to 566,400 in the last. The colporteurs sold 11,743 in 1884; 77,142 in 1903.

[1] In the last decade, however, over 136,000 copies went to other Auxiliaries and Societies.

The Society's expenditure came to £25,350; of which £4075 on colportage, £2770 on version work.

Between 1891 and 1901 the Christian population grew from 83,000 to 143,000, an increase of more than 70 per cent. In 1900 twenty-six missionary organisations were at work within the range of the Auxiliary's operations.

The Panjab Auxiliary entered upon this final period with a circulation for the year (38,000 copies in twenty different languages) half as large again as the highest it had ever reached before. No chance increase was this, but the beginning of a steady expansion from 185,900 copies in the first quinquennium to 301,000 in the last.

Distribution ran upon the old lines. Independent of the Auxiliary, but in close touch with it, the Panjab Religious Book Society employed from twenty to thirty colporteurs who scattered the Scriptures through the length and breadth of the land.[1] The Auxiliary staff varied from three to six men, and their regular tours were supplemented by the keepers of the sub-depôts, of which there were usually fifteen or sixteen—at Karachi on the Sindh coast, Quetta on the Balochi border, Peshawar on the route to Kabul, and in other centres. In 1893 the local committee gave their voice in favour of the transfer of the colportage system to the Missions, but their own plans remained undisturbed. Bible-women were adopted in 1886, and the number—apart from those connected with the various missionary societies—was increased from six in 1887 to eleven in 1892, and nineteen in 1903. The mere increase was an indication of the value of their services, but their work was kept in constant check by illiteracy. As late as 1901 the women-readers among Hindus and Mohammedans were reckoned at 34 in the 10,000, compared with 1100 in 10,000 among native Christian women.

[1] In 1901 its sales amounted to 44,289 books and 682,178 tracts.

The chronicle of this busy time was of the briefest, but it showed a better knowledge, a new hope, kindled and spreading ever more widely among the people. There was greater readiness, at times even eagerness, to buy the Scriptures. Among the children of Islam—and this Five River region contained one-fourth of the Moslem population of India—secret reading of the Word of God became common. One heard of a single copy of the Gospel turning a whole village from its idols. From the caravanserai at Amritsar, frequented all through the cold season by Yarkand traders, many a copy in Persian or Pashtu was carried beyond the Himalaya, to be laid, perchance, on the shelf till a snowstorm blotted out the world, perchance to travel from hand to hand among strange tribesmen, but often to do in the end the work to which it was sent. Through the rocky defiles of the Khaibar the *Injil* passed unchallenged, from Peshawar to the Afghan capital. At Kabul one Urdu Gospel came into the possession of a mullah who was so anxious to read and understand it that he paid a friend to translate it into Persian for him.

Entering by the Bolan Pass, Afghans and Persians bought the little books at Quetta before they pushed on to Meshed and Herat. In the course of their tours, missionaries presented the New Testament to the chief rajas of Baltistan, for with all its variety of tongues the country was dotted over with the courts of petty princes, at which Persian was spoken and read. Or out on the Balochi hills they told Bible stories, and as every one gives the day's news to all he meets, these stories became the talk of the country side, and awakened the first curiosity as to the new teaching.

The press itself noticed the effect of ordinary distribution among the people. "I have seen," wrote a correspondent to a Hindu newspaper, *The Tribune* of Lahore, in 1892, "old Sikh Jats reading the most difficult book of the New Testament—the Revelation—and *enjoying* it; seen too old

Jatni women spelling through the Bible. It would be no great exaggeration to say, judging from personal observation in some portion of the Manjha, people know much more of the Christian than of their own Scriptures."

Here we pause to note the outstanding events in the records of the Auxiliary.

Encouraged by the success of the issue in Kashmiri, the management at Lahore printed in 1885 no fewer than 35,000 copies of the Sermon on the Mount in eleven different forms of speech or character. But beautiful and arresting as "the octave of beatitudes" must ever be to the non-Christian mind, the Committee felt constrained to resist the tendency to issue on behalf of the Society fragments of Scripture to be used as missionary tracts.

In 1886 Mr H. E. Perkins resigned a high position in the Civil Service to join the Church Missionary Society. He had been connected with the Auxiliary since 1868, still retained the office of president to which he had been elected in 1878, and was enabled by his eminent scholarship to take a prominent part in version work.

Like other Auxiliaries, Lahore felt the strain of the voluntary system, and in 1885 the local committee drew notice to the need for some one to give undivided attention to its affairs. At the beginning of 1895 the Rev. F. H. Baring, who had long been associated with the Rev. Robert Clark, the veteran secretary, was appointed to the charge. In the course of the year the Auxiliary joined the Panjab Book Society in the purchase of a new sub-depôt at Simla, and a plan was started for the training of depôt-keepers at Lahore.

Whether by chance or otherwise, a Juvenile Branch was formed at Simla in 1896, just as Mrs Wynkoop formed the Children's Branch at Allahabad. In 1900 there were close upon 150 members, but unhappily the little Association did not survive the departure of its founder, Mrs Wace, a year or two later.

War, famine, and pestilence darkened 1897. The Scriptures were distributed among the Mecca pilgrims from Central Asia, who were detained at Aligarh by the plague cordon; grants were made for the soldiers' reading-rooms at Quetta, Peshawar, Rawal Pindi, and other centres; and supplies were provided for the famine sufferers.

After three successful years, Mr Baring resigned early in 1898. He was succeeded by Mr Charles J. Rodgers, a proficient in Urdu and Persian, and a man of exceptional distinction.[1] Only eight months later, on the 19th November, he was suddenly called to his rest. The vacancy was filled in March 1899 by the appointment of the Rev. J. M. Adcock, sometime domestic chaplain to Bishop Duter in New Zealand. He was invalided to Simla in April, but, unable to endure the climate, he resigned and sailed for New Zealand in October.

Dr Weitbrecht was in London, carrying through the press the revised Urdu New Testament. He returned to Lahore as hon. secretary in 1900.[2]

On the 16th May, at the age of seventy-five, died in the Himalayas the Rev. Robert Clark, the pioneer of the C.M.S. Panjab Mission, one of the founders of the Panjab Auxiliary, and for four-and-twenty years its indefatigable secretary. The mist of age was rising in his kindly blue eyes, the noble head and patriarchal beard were white as snow, but his missionary ardour was undiminished. He was buried in the native Christian cemetery at Amritsar, where not long

[1] He had been principal of the Amritsar Training College of the Christian Vernacular Education Society for twenty-two years, had served for five on the Indian Archæological Survey, and was Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India.

[2] Here, after three-quarters of a century, we come to the end of one of those "strange stories" which are not rare in the annals of the Bible Society. In 1825 two young ladies went out to canvass for the Society in the Camberwell New Road. At a certain house they sold Bibles to a young Roman Catholic and a Jew. The Roman Catholic became afterwards a well-known Baptist minister, father-in law to Dr Rouse, the chief reviser of the Bengali Scriptures. In time the Jew became Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem. One of the young ladies went out to India, and married an eminent C.M.S. missionary. Their son was H. U. Weitbrecht.

afterwards was laid his great friend and colleague Dr Imad-ud-din, once a Mohammedan mullah, but for many years a Christian pastor, writer, and reviser of the Urdu version.

At this point it may be well to turn to the vernaculars on which the Auxiliary was engaged. In the course of the twenty years 149,000 copies of Scriptures were published in Panjabi; 81,500 in Pashtu; 31,000 in Kashmiri; 24,000 in Sindhi; but the dominant language of the Five Rivers was Urdu, and in that tongue the issues exceeded 1,007,000. On the various reprints of Bibles, Testaments and Portions in Urdu we need not dwell. The question of a revision of the New Testament upon lines which would adapt it to the use of Urdu readers all over India had for some time been mooted by the Rev. H. E. Perkins, Dr Imad-ud-din and others, when in December 1892, at a conference in Delhi representing eight Missionary Societies from the three Presidencies, a board of revisers was appointed, and work was at once begun. Mr Perkins presided at two meetings. On his retirement in 1894 he resigned his chair as chief reviser to Dr Weitbrecht, but continued to take part in the work, and his recension of the Psalms in a tentative edition was sent out to his colleagues in India. No pains were spared to bring the text to perfection; Indian missionaries, laymen, non-Christian Urdu scholars—all contributed. Between 1893 and 1898 the board sat for 190 working days, and on a drizzling February morning in 1898 the task was completed in an old church at Delhi. On the 30th March Dr William Wright broke the seal of a registered package from India at a meeting of the Editorial Committee at the Bible House. It was the "copy" of the revised Urdu Testament; a few minutes later Dr Weitbrecht and Mr Perkins entered and were heartily received.

As the volume passed through the printers' hands in London, proofs (in Roman character) were sent out to

Lahore to be lithographed for a Persian edition. The Roman-Urdu Testament was published in January 1900. By that time Dr Weitbrecht had taken up his charge as secretary. The Persian-Urdu appeared in August (3000 copies). A few days later, on the 5th September, Mr Perkins died at St Leonards. He had been made an Honorary Life Governor in 1899, and was working at the revision of the Panjabi Old Testament up to the time of his death.

The revised version sold rapidly. Within a few months of publication a copy was met with in one of the remote villages of the Panjab. Fresh supplies were soon called for. In the last three years of the period 5000 Testaments and 252,000 Portions left the press. A conference of delegates from all the missions in the Urdu-speaking area assembled at Delhi in the autumn of 1902, and settled preliminaries for what it was hoped would be the final revision of the text.

In the preceding period Mr J. Harvey had made some progress with a version of the Old Testament in Panjabi. In continuation of his work, Ruth was issued in 1888; Genesis and Exodus, a fresh translation, in 1889; 1 Chronicles in 1896; and Leviticus, 1 Kings and Malachi prior to 1899. The revision of the New was committed in 1890 to the Rev. R. Bateman (Church Missionary Society), Mr Harvey, Miss Wauton, and three Indian pastors, with the Rev. E. P. Newton as chief reviser. In 1895 Matthew–Acts, and in 1898 Romans–Revelation, were lithographed in England in the Gurmukhi character; and these two parts formed the complete New Testament printed at Lahore in 1900. A committee was appointed in 1899 to carry forward the translation of the Old Testament—a task to which, as we have seen, Mr Perkins gave his last efforts; and Isaiah, published in 1901, closed for a time the tale of Panjabi version work.

Gurmukhi, the sacred Sikh character, was little to the liking of Mohammedans; the prevalence of Sanskrit words and religious terms in the Panjabi Scriptures was not less

distasteful. Their language, indeed, in the Central Panjab was so coloured with Urdu as to be a quasi-dialect. The American Presbyterian missionaries at Sialkot successfully met these difficulties with two Urdu-Panjabi Gospels, in a slightly modified Persian script. Language and character were adopted by the Rev. R. Bateman, whose translations of the Four Gospels and the Acts appeared between 1889 and 1893. For a time the use of Gurmukhi wavered in the balances, but Dr Weitbrecht regarded it as needful, and in 1903 Lord Radstock, writing from India, urged the necessity for the complete Bible "in the language and character of the Sikhs."

As the Amir Abdur Rahman passed through Peshawar on his return from the grand durbar at Rawal Pindi in April 1885, the Rev. W. Jukes wrote to ask his acceptance of the New Testament in remembrance of his visit to Hindustan. That gift was little likely to have been included in the splendid presents his Highness had received from Lord Dufferin. The Amir consented, accepted the volume "with great reverence," and promised to read it—"the best of all my presents." "Although I do not consider myself bound by all that is written therein," he wrote, "I shall treat it with respect, as a book sent to us by God."

It was Löwenthal's Pashtu Testament of 1863, the language of which seemed so different from the everyday Afghan speech that some improvement appeared urgent. Accordingly in 1883 the Rev. T. Lee Mayer and his colleagues T. P. Hughes and W. Jukes were appointed a board of revision under Bishop French. The result was a new translation. The manuscript, inscribed by Ghulam Jilani, "the best calligraphist in Afghanistan," was sent to the Bible House—to become one of its curiosities—and an edition of 5000 copies was produced by photo-lithography in 1890.

Meanwhile between Bannu and Kabul, in a beautiful

valley of the Turis under the snow-peaks of the White Mountain (Sufed Koh) Löwenthal's version—whatever its defects—was drawing a village of Shiah Moslems to Christ. In 1885 one of the leading men had obtained a copy. From that time he had read it almost daily. People and priests gathered in his house to listen and then to discuss the great Gospel truths. So things went on for eight years. At last word reached Bannu, and in 1894 Dr Pennell went up to Koorum with Scriptures and religious books in Pashtu, Arabic and Persian, was for several days the honoured guest of the owner of the Testament, and found that "the silent missionary" had already planted the seed for him.

During the preparation of the New Testament progress was also made with the Old. The Pentateuch appeared in 1890, a re-translation of the Psalms in 1891; and the publication of the remaining sections in 1895 completed the Pashtu Bible in four volumes.

Wade's Kashmiri New Testament left the press in 1884. Meanwhile the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles had been preparing himself for the translation of the Old Testament by collecting folk-tales and songs from the lips of the people.[1] Towards the end of 1885 he got together a group of scholars—one a poet from Maraz, another a Mohammedan moulvie of Srinagar,—and for the next thirteen years they worked almost daily for two hours in the spring of the morning. Parts of the MS. were lost in flood and fire, the plates of Jeremiah were destroyed in the fall of a printing-house roof, Genesis had to be "set up" twice and corrected ten times to free it from the errors of foreign compositors; but book appeared after book until the version was completed, in three volumes, in 1899. In March 1900 a superbly bound copy was presented in full durbar by the translator to the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, who expressed his warm acknowledgments to the Society. It was just thirty-five

[1] Knowles, *Folk-tales of Kashmir*, 1888.

years since Dr Elmslie started his medical mission at Srinagar. Now there was a beautiful church with daily services, schools with a thousand boys learning to read the Bible, colporteurs abroad in the valley, while Hill-men came down bringing "the Book Sahib" honey from the rock in exchange for the Word of God.

In the last year of the period the Auxiliary produced the Gospel of St Matthew, translated by the Rev. F. Gustafson of the Scandinavian Alliance into Balti, the language of a Mohammedan population of 130,000 among the fruit gardens and enormous mountains of Baltistan, North-west Kashmir. In Chamba, the language of the little state on the south of Kashmir, the Gospel of St John was printed in 1884, and that of St Mark in 1891, both the work of the native pastor Soban Lall.

Balochi was a new tongue. The educated of Balochistan might be reached through Urdu and Persian, but this was the home-speech of the fierce Moslem tribes—a million and a half—between Afghanistan and the sea. The first book, St Matthew, was translated by the Rev. Arthur Lewis at Dera Ghazi Khan, where in 1878 the C.M.S. Mission pitched its tent "in a pomegranate garden close to the city walls." It was issued in 1884, and was the only Portion for fifteen years. But after seeing the Pashtu Bible through the press in England (1895), Mr Lee Mayer took up the translation of the Four Gospels, and in 1897 he was sent out to finish the version "under a tent of goats' hair with a Balochi for helper." Here is a glimpse of the good days at Fort Munro among the Suleiman Hills: "Five-and-twenty goatherds and shepherds sat round me and drank in the 23rd Psalm. They understood every word of it. The only change they wanted me to make was this. Goats like one kind of grass, sheep another, and the keepers of each clamoured for the name of the grass which their own flock liked best." So the matter had to be compromised by

"green pastures of grasses." Matthew was published in 1899, the other Gospels and the whole New Testament in 1900; the Psalms, in five instalments, between 1900 and 1902, Genesis and Exodus in 1902 and 1903. In all 19,500 copies of the Balochi Scriptures.

Here, too, at Dera Ghazi, work had been going on since 1883 in Jatki or Derwal, a language, allied to Panjabi, spoken by two and a half millions in the Multan and Derajat districts. St Mark appeared in 1888; the Four Gospels in 1898.

The first half of the New Testament, Matthew–Ephesians, in Sindhi was in circulation in the last period. The last half, Philippians–Revelation, translated by the Rev. G. Shirt, had for ten years been used in manuscript by all the C.M.S. missionaries and the workers of the Church of England Zenana Society. It was now revised by the Rev. J. Redman, and an edition of 5000 copies was issued in 1890. In 1885 the Book of Proverbs had been published. Altogether 24,000 copies of Scripture appeared in the language of Sindh during the period.

In the autumn of 1902 the appointment of Mr W. H. L. Church as secretary set Dr Weitbrecht free to respond to the claims of Scripture revision.

The total circulation of the Lahore Auxiliary during the twenty years—1,020,890 copies—showed a fine progression from 185,900 copies in the first quinquennium to 301,400 in the last. The expenditure of the Society amounted to £18,391, of which upwards of £2887 was outlay on version work.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE LAST PHASES IN INDIA: BOMBAY AND MADRAS

EVERY year added to the importance of the splendid capital of the Western Presidency. The spread of education and the alert intelligence of the people were reflected in the vernacular press,[1] which was unconsciously disintegrating the old order of things for hundreds of thousands. Though the Christian community in the great city remained but a fraction of its 800,000 inhabitants, it was amid a broadening tolerance towards the claims of the Gospel and a growing disposition to examine them that the Bombay Auxiliary pursued its difficult way. Very gradually, in the course of a decade, its annual circulation rose from 21,000 to upwards of 62,000 copies of Scripture; but otherwise there was little to note beyond the progress of new editions and the experiences of the small staff of from twelve to seventeen colporteurs.

In 1886 the Hon. H. M. Birdwood became president, and Lieut.-General Phayre, who had been a vice-president for twenty-six years, left India. A new outpost of circulation was established in the Central Provinces by the opening of a sub-depôt at Nagpore in 1891. A year later Dr Narayen Sheshadri closed his earthly labours, and one recalls the May meeting of 1874 at which he held his audience spell-bound with the story of his conversion through the reading of the Bible. This high-caste Brahmin, whose footsteps hallowed the village rain-pools, lived to baptize 1200 men, women and

[1] Numerically the strongest in India. In 1889, 29 newspapers were published in Madras, 54 in Bengal, 72 in the North-West Provinces and Oude, 104 in Bombay.

children of his own people. He took part in the revision of the Marathi New Testament in 1855, and until his death his scholarship was at the service of the great version of the Presidency.

In June 1895, on the welcome arrival of Mr Charles Douglas Green as its first secretary, the Bombay Auxiliary, then at the close of its eighty-second year, entered upon a new chapter of its history.

Colportage was shifting to the new lines approved by the Decennial Conference in 1893; missionaries in many districts, accepting the Society's liberal offer of 75 per cent. discount and making distribution part of their regular work, saw on a large scale the solvent power of the Scriptures, and realised the need for the Word of God in the towns and villages which their circuits could touch but once in four or five years. The Auxiliary staff was reduced to seven men, until pioneer enterprise towards the close of the century required a larger number. The employment of Biblewomen, begun in 1894, developed with its unmistakable success, and in 1903 there were twenty-five workers on the staff, apart from the missionary groups scattered over the province.

New or improved branch depôts were opened at Poona, Ahmedabad and Ahmednagar, and, most important of all, Mr Douglas Green started a succession of tours and meetings, which kindled many a Bible beacon from Gujarat to the borders of Mysore, from the low tract of the Konkan under the western mountain walls to Nagpore and Chanda in the heart of the Deccan.

On the departure of the Bishop of Bombay (Dr Mylne), the Hon. H. M. Birdwood, C.S.I., and Mr Henry Conder for England in 1897, the Auxiliary lost patron, president, and a much valued vice-president.[1] The Hon. Andrew Wingate, C.I.E., was elected to the president's chair. It was the year

[1] The latter were afterwards both enrolled among the Society's Honorary Life Governors. In 1898 another vice-president of the Auxiliary, the Rev. W. G. Peel, was appointed to the new Bishopric of Mombasa.

of calamities, and his administrative experience was once more required by Government in the stricken districts. The Bombay Presidency was swept with plague and famine, but in the midst of hunger and sorrow and death the circulation —some 68,000 copies—attained a higher figure than had ever been reached before.

In the closing years a dozen colporteurs were selling an average of 23,700 copies of Scripture (at a cost of less than 1d. each) at fairs, idol festivals, and crowded country bazaars, among school children, and in the camps of the Boer prisoners of war. One, travelling through the fanatical villages of Kandesh, was welcomed at a raja's palace for the sake of his magic lantern, sold the prince an English Bible, and answered many questions about Christianity. In 1902 the Auxiliary's issues for the year ran for the first time into six figures, and nineteen missionary societies, including the Salvation Army, were drawing their supplies from its depôts.

Besides the active part which the Auxiliary took in the University Students scheme, it overlooked no opportunity offered by the spread of education or the calls of benevolence. The Scriptures were to be seen in many of the native libraries, by the sick-beds of soldier and civilian, in the waiting-rooms of railway stations. Touching gifts from leper asylums proved that these poor sufferers were neither forgotten nor forgetful; and the increasing contributions from the Indian Churches marked a clearer appreciation of the Society's work.

On his return to England, Sir Andrew Wingate, who had been knighted in 1899, became a member of the Committee in 1903, and his place as president of the Auxiliary was taken by the Rev. Dr Mackichan, vice-principal of Bombay University.

The Bombay Auxiliary circulated the Word of God in twenty-seven languages. Its own vernacular Scriptures

were in Marathi and Gujarati. In the former upwards of 632,000 copies, in the latter 364,800, were published during the period. Death, illness and absence greatly retarded the progress of the Marathi committee appointed in 1880. Genesis revised appeared in 1887; Ephesians revised in 1890. In 1892 the committee was reconstituted, with the Rev. Baba Padmanji as chief reviser. Matthew was printed in 1898, and Acts was in the press in 1902, when the Rev. Dr Mackichan, Free Church of Scotland, and Dr E. J. Abbott of the American Board of Missions were set apart for the work. Luke and Romans were issued at the Centenary. Meanwhile Baba Padmanji had finished his draft revision of the New Testament in 1896, and by 1901 Exodus, the Psalms, Job, and four or five other Old Testament books were in manuscript. All through the period numerous reprints — among them three editions of the Bible and a Pocket New Testament—passed through his hands, and at the close of the period, the old scholar, verging on seventy-three and with troubled eyesight, was still at his post.

More prosperous was the Gujarati work of the committee of Irish Presbyterian missionaries appointed in 1881. The Four Gospels and Acts were in circulation in 1887; Luke and John followed, each in diglot form with the English Authorised version, and the complete New Testament was issued in 1889. The committee was strengthened by the addition of four more names, and revision of the Gujarati Old Testament began in 1887. In August 1899 appeared a tentative edition of the revised Bible, printed on India paper sent out from the Bible House; and in 1903 the perfected version was welcomed with joy and eagerly bought. Among the distinguished scholars who did not live to see their labours crowned was the Rev. Hormazdji Pestonji, who died in 1891, and who had been for forty years a member of the Gujarati translation board.

During the twenty years the Auxiliary passed into circulation 1,129,000 copies of Scripture, and the expenditure of the Society amounted to £18,623.

Whatever the appeal of other parts of India, one turns with a peculiar interest to the south. Tamil was the first of the Indian languages to become a Bible tongue. The large Christian communities of the Empire were not clustered round the northern Mogul cities or along the sacred rivers of Hindustan, but under the palm-trees of Tinnevelly. As one sails down the Malabar coast, and the little white churches gleam out from among the dark green woods upon the shore, one is carried back by the Syro-Christian legend to the days of St Thomas. At Madras, on the eastern side of the peninsula, a monument in perhaps the oldest Protestant church in India recalls the fair name of Christian Frederick Schwartz, the only envoy from the English whom Hyder Ali would receive or trust. At Tanjore he lies buried—"the Raja's priest"[1]—and every year his grave is visited by a crowd of simple native men and women, Hindu, Mohammedan and Christian, who keep green the memory of the saintly missionary.

The Madras Auxiliary was exceptionally fortunate in its circumstances. For twenty years Mr Organe as secretary and the Rev. A. Theophilus as director of colportage maintained an unbroken sequence of operations. Every successive report told of vigorous activity, and increased sale-circulation marked, quinquennium after quinquennium, the stages of an uninterrupted progress.

From 1887 to 1891 both the Written Word and the spoken message were assailed with a virulent hostility, widely organised and unprecedented. "Never had the powers of evil been so active." It seemed, indeed, as

[1] So called because the dying Raja of Tanjore, "with unbounded confidence in his honour, entrusted him with the guardianship and education of the heir to his throne."

though "one heard from their ancient temples the voices of the old gods as they gave each other the alarm and went out to battle." Fanatical Hindu preachers carried their anti-Crusade through the chief centres of the Presidency. Scurrilous abuse and gross misrepresentations of the Bible, Christianity, and Christian Missions were scattered broadcast by the Hindu Tract Society. This violent opposition expressed in another form the despairing confession of certain educated Hindus of Madras: "The Scriptures are destroying more temples than ever the Moguls did." The very effort to revive Hinduism drew attention to the claims of Christianity. Tracts like the Kanarese leaflet, *Is Jesus God?* could only be understood by referring to the Gospels; and the street preaching of the Shastris awakened far and wide an interest in the Scriptures they attacked.

With Mr Theophilus constantly afield, some fifty colporteurs, during the first decade, were shifted and changed over the wide tracts of the Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu regions, while the Bangalore Auxiliary took charge of the Kanarese country, and a small staff, or an agent, directed by the Secunderabad Branch worked in the dominion of the Nizam. They travelled 70,000 or 80,000 miles a year, called at upwards of 300,000 houses, attended fairs, markets and idol festivals, and rarely returned from their circuits without introducing the Scriptures as a reading-book into a score or two of non-Christian vernacular schools. As the Missions began to take part in the system of colportage the Auxiliary staff was reduced for a time, but a little later fifty men were still required for the large areas which lay in part or wholly beyond the missionary range.[1]

Work-centres were multiplied. In 1888 there were 20

[1] Besides the Madras staff and the Mission colporteurs there were also in the field the men of the Christian Literature Society, who were supplied by the Auxiliary.

Branches and 30 depôts (some of them, like Trivandrum, frequented by Hindus and Moslems anxious to know more of Christianity); 58 depôts in 1891; 65 Branches in 1894; and as the railway facilitated transport and missionary expansion absorbed parts of the old field, fresh depôts were planted still further away in the Mofussil.

Biblewomen were first used by the Auxiliary in 1894—4 in that year, 7 in 1899, 19 in 1902, and 20 as the period closed; but meanwhile the contingents in charge of the various missionary societies had grown from 89 to 167 workers.

In 1885-86 the Scriptures were presented to the Zamorin of Calicut and the Maharajas of Travancore and Cochin; and all through the period, as occasion offered, the Word of God was similarly placed in the hands of native princes, ranis and zemindars in the Presidency, and more than one raja showed in tangible form his interest in the Society. The chieftains of the tribes in the hills of Ganjam were not overlooked, and for several years special provision was made for a distribution among the Namburi or Priestly Brahmins in the State of Cochin.[1]

Abridged reports of the Auxiliary's work were published in the four great languages. English Bibles were placed in the travellers' bungalows; copies of the Scriptures in public libraries and railway waiting-rooms. Prices were reduced for poor congregations; hospitals, orphan homes, ragged schools, and leper asylums were included in the Auxiliary's care. Among the free grants none were distributed or received in a kindlier spirit than those sent out to the camps of the Boer prisoners of war.

As far back as 1865 the Committee had provided the Indian Auxiliaries with small supplies of vernacular Portions in raised letters for the sightless; but nearly thirty years

[1] Once an influential class of great landowners, now much reduced in numbers in consequence of the eldest son alone of each family being allowed to marry.

elapsed before any systematic attempt was made to prepare the Word of Life and Light in their own tongues for these afflicted people, who numbered 50,000 in the Madras Presidency, and probably 600,000 in the whole of India. In 1893 Mr L. Garthwaite and the Rev. J. Knowles of Travancore had so far elaborated from the Braille method their "one and the same blind alphabet for all Oriental languages," that the Book of Jonah was published in Tamil, Telugu and Hindustani, and was followed by Malayalam and Tamil transliterations of the Lord's Prayer and the Sermon on the Mount. Small as the circulation was, it aroused attention on all sides, and classes of children and adults were started at several of the Telugu and Tamil mission stations. In 1900 Queen Victoria graciously accepted copies of Scripture Portions and "readers," and expressed her great satisfaction with these efforts on behalf of her blind subjects in the East. A capable man was found in time for the mechanical part of the work, and editions of St John in Telugu, and St Mark in Bengali, Tamil, Urdu and Marathi were issued in commemoration of the Centenary.

Contributions from native churches gradually increased; the subscribers to the cause included educated Mohammedans and Hindus who were "secret disciples"; gifts were received from the children of non-Christian schools; but up to the end there were still numerous congregations, English and Indian, which made no acknowledgment of the benefits they received from the Society.

Travelling through the length and breadth of the land, preserving in his diaries vivid glimpses of many a spot famous in Christian story, addressing meetings conferring with missionaries, inspecting depôts, stimulating Branches, facilitating the production of the Scriptures, Mr Organe was privileged, as we have said, to maintain the harmony of all these activities for twenty years.

Many losses occurred during the period. On 2nd September 1885, at the age of seventy-two, died the Rev. Dr Bower of Madras, to whom "more than to any other man was due the honour of bringing the Tamil Union Version to a successful termination." In the midst of his labours on the Telugu version, the Rev. Dr Hay died on 28th October 1891, in his eightieth year. He had been over half a century in the L.M.S. mission-field, and his work as a translator began in the forties when the language was still at times called Telinga. Last, on the 25th March 1902, at Coonoor on the Nilgiris, died Dr Gell, the Lord Bishop of Madras, at the age of eighty-two; for forty years president of the Madras Auxiliary, and at the time of his death first on the long list of the Society's Vice-Presidents —"a saintly personage," as even the native journal, *The Hindu*, recognised, "in whose presence all sectarian strife was stilled."

Five new languages were added to the Society's list in the course of these years—Tulu and Konkani in 1884, Badaga in 1887, Khond in 1893, and Toda in 1897. Tulu was spoken by half a million of people in South Kanara. Until the coming of the Basel Mission their only literature was a sheaf of folk-tales written on palm-leaves. The missionaries completed the New Testament in 1847. A revision of the text was printed in 1858, and in 1882 the Committee were asked to adopt the version. A second revision was begun, and various Portions and the Book of Proverbs were issued up to 1890. The New Testament left the press in 1893; a revision of the Psalms (translated in 1863) appeared in 1899; and in 1903 Proverbs revised was ready for the printer, and Genesis was in hand. In all 20,200 copies had been issued.

In Konkani, a Marathi dialect used by a million and a half chiefly in South Konkan and Kanara, St John and St Mark, transliterated from Carey's New Testament of 1818,

and slightly revised by the Basel missionaries, were published in 1884 and 1885.[1] A board of translation was formed; St Matthew by the Rev. Satyarthi Kaundinya was printed in 1889; but progress was interrupted by loss of men and dearth of scholars, and in 1894 the board ceased to exist.

Two other tongues take us to the Nilgiris, the "Blue Peaks," which look out to the silver grey of the distant sea. For the Badagas, some 34,000 people, and the only hill-tribe which showed vitality and a tendency to increase, the Auxiliary published in 1890 the Gospel of St Luke. The translation, which had been lithographed by the Basel Mission thirty-eight years before, was revised by the Rev. W. Lütze, assisted by an aged munshi, now a Christian, who took part in the original work. Mark was issued in 1896; and in 1902, when the Book of Jonah appeared, John and Matthew were in progress. Smallest of all the Nilgiri tribes was the Todas, a population of 765 souls, but "lords of the soil" in the eyes of their neighbours, who helped to support them. By means of a Toda who spoke Tamil, Miss C. F. Ling of the Ootacamund Zenana Mission prepared the Gospel of St Mark, which was in circulation in 1897; and in 1903 the Gospel of St John, by Miss Grover, left the press.

The last of the new languages was Khond, spoken by certain Dravidian tribes in Orissa and the hills of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. Mark and Genesis xxxvii. and xxxix.-l. (the Story of Joseph) were published in the early nineties, but the death of the young translator, the Rev. A. B. Wilkinson of the Baptist Mission, deprived the Auxiliary of its only Khond scholar.

[1] On searching for Carey's New Testament, a solitary copy in the Serampore Library was all that could be discovered in India. Strange to say, a much older book had survived in considerable numbers. About three hundred years ago Thomas Stephens, an Englishman in Goa, made a metrical paraphrase of the New Testament in Konkani. It was printed in 1616 (three years before his death), reprinted in 1649 and 1654, and is still a favourite book among native Christians.—Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles*, s.v. "Marathi."

In the four great languages of the Presidency upwards of 3,000,000 Bibles, Testaments and Portions were printed during the period.[1]

For some years interleaved copies of the Tamil "Union" New Testament were in the hands of the translation committee and other scholars, but a succession of obstacles closed the way to a second revision. In August 1891 the revisers lost in Bishop Caldwell a rare scholar and the oldest and most distinguished of their company.

The story of the Telugu version was chequered with troubles and losses. Three of the delegates passed away in 1884; the Rev. Manchala Ratnam, a venerable expert, died in 1886; once and again Dr Hay was attacked by serious illness; but still revision went on rapidly, and book after book of the Old Testament passed into circulation. In 1890 Mr Theophilus took up part of the veteran's burden; but in 1891, shortly after he had given Ezekiel its definitive form, the fine old missionary was called to his rest. His work had covered the New Testament, Genesis–Ruth, Job–Proverbs, Isaiah – Ezekiel. After various interruptions the undivided services of the Rev. E. Lewis (London Missionary Society) and the Rev. Danavada Anantam (Church Missionary Society) were secured in 1896, and the "harmonising" of the New Testament was nearing the close when, in November 1897, Mr Lewis died. The Rev. J. R. Bacon (London Missionary Society) took up the task with Anantam, who was relieved, however, in January 1901 by the Rev. B. Sinayya. In May that year the revision of the New Testament was finished; in September 1903 the whole Telugu Bible was ready; and both left the press in the course of 1904.

Owing to absence and pressure of pastoral duties, the work on the Malayalam "Union" version flagged between

[1] Tamil, 1,553,127; Telugu, 754,385; Malayalam, 571,975; Kanarese, 225,500.

1884 and 1890, but a vast body of criticism was sifted and collated for use. Interim editions were printed for immediate needs, and in 1886 Gundert's translation of the Prophetical Books, Isaiah–Malachi, was printed.[1] In 1889-90 the Auxiliary issued in the handiest form yet attempted, crown 8vo., experimental editions of the Old Testament at twelve annas (1s.) and the New at four. The Gospels began to appear in their definitive form in 1890; in 1899 the New Testament was published — a labour "which had occupied the minds of us and of others now at rest for many years," and for which special thanks were due to Him "who maketh men to be of one mind in an house." In this final recension part was taken by Wilhelm Dilger (Basel Mission), Archdeacon Koshi (Church Missionary Society), and Olassêril Joseph (Syrian Church); the chief reviser, W. J. Richards (Church Missionary Society), received the degree of D.D. from the Archbishop of Canterbury in recognition of his services. The revision of the Old Testament—the revised text of Bailey's palm-leaf version—was taken in hand. From Exodus to Ruth passed the censors by the end of 1903, and the draft of Kings and 1 Chronicles was completed by Mr Dilger, who had been ill, but recovered and hoped to finish the whole volume during his furlough.

Some 56,000 copies were issued in Dakhani—revisions by the Rev. M. G. Goldsmith (Church Missionary Society), the Rev. E. Lewis (London Missionary Society), and others, of Genesis and Exodus, Proverbs, Psalms, the Gospels and the Acts. Further revision was stayed in 1896 as the Pan-Indian Urdu version was expected to supersede this Deccan dialect.

The Gospel of St Luke in Koi, revised by the Rev. J.

[1] Dr Hermann Gundert of the Basel Mission, translator of the New Testament, Psalms and Prophets, died in April 1893. His father was secretary of the Stuttgart Bible Society. His call to the East, in 1835, came to him through George Müller of Bristol.

Cain, was printed in Telugu character in 1889, but the spread of Telugu among the Koi settlements on the Upper Godaveri rendered further work in their tribal speech unnecessary.

In 1890 the Kanarese missionaries decided that the time had come for a revision of their version on new lines. The literal transcript of Greek and Hebrew locutions—the "Padri Kanarese"—which perplexed native readers was abandoned, and north and south were to blend idiom and vocabulary in a text (practically a new translation) suited alike to the unlettered and the educated. A committee drawn from the Basel, London and Wesleyan Missions was appointed in 1891, with the Rev. E. Lewis, and afterwards the Rev. H. Haigh as chief reviser. Matthew and John, the first of the new Gospels, appeared in 1893; the New Testament, in a tentative edition, in 1901. In that year Mr Haigh was commissioned to prepare the first draft of the Old Testament at home. Genesis and one hundred and ten of the Psalms were completed in 1903, but family considerations prevented the translator from returning with them to India.

The Kanarese version was the special charge of the Bangalore Auxiliary. Two-thirds of the circulation of that bright little society of Mysore Province was in the Kanarese, the vernacular of about 9,000,000 on the inland plateau buttressed by the Western Ghauts — a home-staying race with a literature centuries older than our own. The other third consisted chiefly of Tamil and Telugu, but it included a diglot Matthew (Kanarese and Sanskrit),[1] English and Italian, for miners on the Kolar gold-fields.

On the 9th February 1887, less than a month after holding his jubilee as an L.M.S. missionary, died the Rev. Benjamin Rice, one of the translators of the Kanarese

[1] Similarly the Madras Auxiliary published St Mark in Malayalam and French for the French colony at Mahé in Malabar, 10,000 Portions in Telugu and English, 7500 in Telugu and Sanskrit, and 5500 in Tamil and English.

Bible of 1865, and for thirty years secretary of the Bangalore Society—secretary while it was still a Branch of Madras, and one of its founders as an independent Auxiliary. His son, the Rev. E. P. Rice, who succeeded him, held office from 1887 to 1894, from 1896 to 1899, and again from 1901 onwards.

The Bangalore Auxiliary shared in the work of the University Students scheme, opened several well-frequented Bible reading-rooms, and sent out, in co-operation with the Bangalore Tract and Book Society, sixteen or seventeen colporteurs. After the Missions took part in colportage the staff was reduced, but in spite of the heavy outlay six were maintained for the sake of distant places. The hostility of the Hindu revivalists had little effect on the work, and in spite of the long visitation of pestilence and want—1899-1902—the circulation of the last five years was far above the average of the three preceding quinquenniums.

During the twenty years the Bangalore Auxiliary circulated 291,390 copies of Scripture, 194,460 of which were in Kanarese. The outlay of the Society in connection with the Auxiliary came to £3137, and of this £2500 was expended on the Kanarese version.

In the same period the Madras Auxiliary distributed by sale alone 3,159,000 copies.[1] The expenditure of the Society, far in excess of the large sums voted to the other Indian Auxiliaries, amounted to £45,417, in which colportage counted for £17,400 and version work for £8532.

Thus, in the aggregate, the Society expended £138,000 in direct connection with the six Indian Auxiliaries, and upwards of 9,149,000 copies of the Word of God were circulated in the course of the twenty years.

Were it only given us to know the divine results of that

[1] In the last seven years upwards of 231,000 of this total was sold to other societies. Figures for the gratis distribution of the period are not available.

vast distribution; could we but see, as from Pisgah, this land of unbounded promise;

> "see all of it,
> Life there, outlying"—

the new life, the immense light of the Spirit kindling among tribes and peoples, from the palms of Comorin to the snowy sky-sails of the long fleet of mountains crossing the northern horizon!

Early in the nineties missionaries spoke joyfully of the sense of change in "the Unchanging East," of such intellectual unsettlement among the upper classes as had never been noticed before. There was an elemental freshness in the world, as though the heavens had been filled by the living gale of a springtime making all things new. In 1895 one heard of the spread of a truer knowledge of the religion of Christ, and that mainly through the reading of the Scriptures. The Gospel was in the air. Materialism was going out of fashion. "Though the educated classes were at some distance from the threshold of Christianity, Christ was seldom out of their sight."

Was that too bright an estimate, the facile colouring of eager optimists?

From each of the Presidencies came evidence of the wonderful dispersion of the Scriptures, and of the effects which had often been produced by the reading of them. "We have heard of Him," cried the people, when a missionary spoke of Christ in an untried district in Bengal; "an old man in our village had a book which told of Him, and when he died we heard him say again and again, 'Lord Jesus, suffer me to touch Thy feet.'" In the heart of Garhwal the people of another village cast away their idols and accepted the faith from their only teachers, the Apostles themselves in the Hindi New Testament.

In Orissa, sometime in the forties—the fact was related

by Sir Charles Elliott, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal—a missionary reached a distant village, and left there copies of the Scriptures and other Christian books. Years went by. A second missionary came upon the place. He found the people Christian. They had no priests, no deacons, but they held a service of their own and read the Bible. So, after half a century, the son saw the fruit of his father's sowing. Haigh, the Kanarese translator, told of one of the strangest of non-Christian Biblemen, a Sanskrit scholar and mystic, a thin gaunt man, "with just one cloth thrown around him," who wandered through India chanting slokas and stories from the life of our Lord, and returning with the price of Sanskrit Bibles—on one occasion of even sixty—for pundits and gurus, who had "listened again, and wondered again, and at last said, 'We must have that Veda.'"

There were those curious "signs of the times"—young Hindus forming a society for "the study of Christ," and asking a Christian missionary to direct their investigations; non-Christian Bengalis translating the New Testament for themselves, and submitting their proof-sheets to English scholars.

Then there was the testimony of opposition. "We must imitate the Christians," wrote the editor of a Hindu paper in 1889, "and have a kind of Bible Society of our own which shall print our ancient shastras and place them in the hands of the people." Buddhism opened its literary depôt; Hinduism founded its anti-Christian Tract Society, and sent its shastris into the streets and market-places to preach the great revival.

Yet more phenomenal were the assimilation of Christian truths and ideals by the most subtle thinkers of the time, and the touching submission of heart and intellect to "that incarnation of Divine Love, the lowly Son of Man." The Brahma Samaj made the Fatherhood of God one of the articles of its creed; the Arya Samaj proposed that the matchless

personality of Christ should have place in Indian worship; and though they could not reconcile Divine Love with Divine Justice, their founder died with the prayer on his lips, "Let thy will be done, O Father!"

In the Jhang district of the Panjab the Chet Ramis numbered some 10,000 believers, who carried the New Testament near their breast, whether they could read or not. Their founder Chet Ram—illiterate water-carrier, ex-army steward, and after a copy of the Gospels had been put in his hands by a Mohammedan fakir, *sadhu* (saintly ascetic), visionary,[1] and preacher of the Lord Jesus Christ as Son of God and Saviour of the World—died in 1894. His mantle fell on a cowherd who dwelt in a mud-hut by the river, a strange wild figure, whose rough tattered kurta and face full of spiritual power made one think of the Prophet Amos. The sect included lawyers, tradesmen, farmers, labourers, beggars. Four of the leading disciples, tradesmen in a neighbouring city, preached each one daily at the four gates; each had over his shop a cross and a flag, and the sign was inscribed with the founder's creed: "I believe in Jesus Christ the Son of Mary, and in the Holy Ghost, and in God, to whom prayer shall be made, and in reading the Bible and the Gospels for salvation."

Finally, in 1902 a writer in the *Kayastha Samachar*, a non-Christian monthly of Allahabad, strongly urged the introduction of the Bible as a class-book in all primary and high schools: "I have seen with dismay and indignation B.A. students, who ought to have known better, defending idol-worship and Brahman-feasting with all the fervour of proselytes. . . . I am not a Christian, but I think the more Christ-like we become, the better for us and our land. . . . Half an hour's study of the Bible will do more to remodel

[1] Sleeping on the grave of the fakir, Mahbub Shah, Chet Ram had his vision of "Jesus God," and "realised that Jesus came to give salvation."—*See* Morrison, *New Ideas in India*, pp. 204-207.

a man than a whole day spent in repeating the slokas of the Puranas or the mantras of the Rig-Veda."

With such facts in evidence who can doubt that "in spite of His alien birth and in spite of anti-British bias, Christ has passed within the pale of Indian recognition," that "Indian eyes, focused at last, are fastened upon Him, and men wonder at His gracious words"?[1]

The Census Report of 1901 reckoned the purely Indian Christians at 2,664,000 souls — an increase of 30.8 per cent. during ten years. The Protestant Indian community numbered close upon a million. Behind them, in the twilight of the willing spirit and the weak flesh, were the multitudes of secret believers unable yet to renounce their caste. In all the great vernaculars, in the speech of 220,000,000 of the total population of 294,000,000, a Gospel could be purchased for a farthing. The aggregate of the Protestant missionaries, men and women, in India might be taken at 2400[2]; but in the dearth of workers amid the whitening of the immense fields, "there was still," in the words of Bishop Welldon, "the one silent, universal and irresistible missionary upon whose influence the Church can always and everywhere depend"—the Bible.

[1] Morrison, *New Ideas in India*, p. 192—a luminous study of the religious developments of contemporary India.

[2] Figures given at the New York Ecumenical Missionary Conference, 1900.

CHAPTER LXIV

CEYLON AND BURMA

Save for lucidity of survey, Ceylon, upon the ground of long association, and Burma, as an actual province of the Indian Empire, might have been included in the preceding chapter. But in the greater part of Ceylon Bible-work developed on exceptional lines, and Burma as an independent agency attained a distinctive position in the chain of the Society's Far Eastern organisations.

Neither time nor change disturbed the ideal harmony of the Wesleyan, American Presbyterian, and Church of England Missions in the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Ceylon. The Committee subsidised colporteurs and Biblewomen, and sent out free any Scriptures printed at home. The rest was the work of the native Churches. Thirty-six delegates represented the one-and-twenty Tamil congregations at the half-yearly meetings of the Jaffna Auxiliary. The service of the Auxiliary itself was centred in the one common depôt,[1] which drew its vernacular stock from Madras and Colombo; it had neither colporteur nor Biblewoman of its own. The entire system of distribution, the upkeep of sub-depôts, and other details were undertaken by the missions, each in its own field, and expenses were defrayed from local contributions.

If Bible circulation was inevitably mixed up with mission schemes, at least it was not subordinated to them. The figures on the colportage lists gave no idea of the stir of

[1] In 1899 new depôts were opened at Puliantivoe and Batticaloa.

life. Every method was tried—men engaged by the year, by the month, by the week; volunteers and salaried workers; solitary wayfarers, and joyous bands who came for ten days or a fortnight and seemed to carry all before them by the enthusiasm of numbers. Welcomed or rebuffed, they travelled far over the 7400 square miles of the provinces, through the malarious jungles of the Wanni, among the palm-groves of Jaffna, through some of the neighbouring islands, over the great rice-plains of Batticaloa, and thence to the devil-dancers and fire-worshippers in the dark inlands.

The number of Biblewomen increased from 21 to 60 in 1895, and was gradually reduced to 41 in 1902. A subsidy was never made to go further. One of their number worked even among the Veddahs.

Year after year about forty-five "union meetings," often held at some distance from the mission stations and attended by people of all creeds, bore unbroken testimony to the common faith of the Christians. Seldom did the full moon shine on scenes more picturesque and heart-moving than these "silver-lighted gatherings" with their prayers, Bible-reading, brief addresses, and Tamil hymns sung to island airs.

Here, as in all the lands of caste, belief was one thing, profession another; but the day came when in the village talk Bible stories and the names of Noah and Moses, Adam and Esther, grew as common as the references to the legends of the *Ramayana* and *Kandapurana*; when the Scriptures were read and learned in Saivite schools; when even from Wannerponne, the stronghold of cultured Saivite worship and the seat of the Anti-Christian Society, came reports of much secret reading of the Word of God. In 1898 there was scarce a house in the Trincomalee district that had not a Portion or more of the Scriptures; children on all sides learned the New Testament and Psalms by heart; non-

communicants kept "the morning watch," rising even before the morning star, to read their daily chapter.

The Sinhali version served as a loadstone of union in the south. Under the presidency of the Chief Justice of Ceylon, Sir Bruce Lockhart Burnside, the Colombo Auxiliary threw itself into the work with fresh energy. On 1st January 1885 the joint depôt of the Bible, Religious Tract, and Vernacular Education Societies was dedicated with united prayer and thanksgiving. A month later the Kandy Auxiliary was revived at a public meeting, which promised hearty support and warmly acknowledged the generosity of the Parent Society in remitting a debt of £80.

With little delay the two Auxiliaries drafted a plan for the revision of the Sinhali Bible, a project which had been in abeyance since the early sixties. The Committee undertook the expense, a numerous board was selected, and the Rev. Stephen Coles (Church Missionary Society) was appointed reviser-in-chief. Revision began in July 1887; but rapid progress could hardly be expected from men burdened with other duties, and it was not until 1893 that the Pentateuch reached the printers. The very multitude of counsellors, a board of thirty-one members, made for delay. In 1898 the number of revisers was reduced, and Mr Coles and the Rev. C. W. de Silva (Wesleyan Missionary Society) were set apart for the work.

In 1901 the revision of the Old Testament was finished, save for one point. For fifteen years it had been a vexed question whether the sacred tetragrammaton J H V H should be translated or transliterated; it remained so until after the closing of this history. The revision of the New Testament was at once begun, but on the 23rd September 1901 Mr Coles died suddenly while in session with his colleagues of the reference committee. His scholarship had been devoted to the Sinhali version during nearly thirty-eight years.

The Bishop of Colombo (Dr Copleston) consented to join

Mr de Silva until the work was completed, but in February 1903 he was called to succeed Dr Welldon as Metropolitan of India.[1] As the year closed, however, De Silva concluded his task. The reference committee gave their imprimatur to 2 Corinthians, but a final revision for the "harmonising" of the early books, Genesis–Esther, was still found indispensable. Meanwhile various printed and zincograph editions were produced in London and at Colombo, and upwards of 226,000 copies of the Sinhali Scriptures passed into the depôt during the twenty years.

After a considerable interval the Auxiliary again held its anniversary in 1886. It engaged, too, the first of its Biblewomen, and added to the number. But life in Colombo had ever been a quickly-changing panorama, and once more local interest fell into decline. In 1889 there was but one colporteur in the field, and the circulation was mainly dependent on missionary activity. A fortunate step was taken in 1895, when by arrangement with the Christian Literature Society Mr Thomas Gracie was appointed paid assistant secretary to the Auxiliary.

The effect was immediate. Sub-depôts were opened at Colpitty, Cotta—a familiar name in the record of evangelisation,—Moratuwa, Panadura and Galle. The sales sprang up from 9000 to an average of 22,600 a year. The number of Biblewomen was increased to thirty-one; and not long afterwards, when hundreds of Dutch Bibles, Testaments, Portions, and the Dutch translation of *God's Word in God's World* were joyfully welcomed in the Boer prison-camp at Dyatawala, three colporteurs were abroad in the Southern Province and among the wooded hills under Adam's Peak, travelling upwards of 4000 miles, mostly on foot, and selling between 3000 and 4000 copies of the Word of God.

In 1886 the Kandy Auxiliary founded depôts at Badulla, the capital of Uva, and at Nuwera Eliya, overlooking

[1] His brother and successor in the See of Colombo joined the board of revision in 1903.

hundreds of poor villages scattered among the grassy downs of the province. Two colporteurs were employed, but Uva proved too illiterate at the outset for colportage, and Bible-women were successfully tried as pioneers. Unfortunately the cause was no longer supported at Kandy with the energy and unity of early times, and for some years the distribution from the three depôts did not exceed three figures. It increased, however, between 1892 and 1898 to an average of 2700 copies. Then followed a long interval of silence, except for brief statements as to the good service of a dozen Biblewomen. At length in September 1900 the Auxiliary was re-organised, and a secretary appointed; another depôt was opened at Anuradhapura amid the half-buried ruins of the wonderful pre-Christian city of the Bo-tree of Gautama; a fresh start was made with three colporteurs; and in 1903 the circulation reached an unprecedented 5340 copies.

The three Auxiliaries appear to have circulated nearly 500,000 copies of Scripture in Ceylon during the period.[1] The expenditure of the Society amounted to £6156—in connection with Jaffna £2836, Colombo £2694, Kandy £626. Of the whole outlay £2155 was voted for colportage and £804 for version work.

The period was brought to an enthusiastic close by the visit of the Rev. F. W. Macdonald and the Rev. H. A. Raynes, the Centenary deputation, on their return from Australia. Large and spirited meetings were held in the cities of the three Auxiliaries, at Galle, Moratuwa, Panadura and Matale; and Colombo, looking hopefully to the immediate future, included among its projects the preparation of Sinhali Scriptures for the blind and a translation of the Gospels for the people of the Maldives, the "Thousand Isles" of cocoa-nuts and cowrie-shells, 500 miles to the west.

On the overthrow of Thebaw and the annexation of the

[1] Colombo, upwards of 296,000; Jaffna, at least 157,000; Kandy, 34,000 in fourteen years.

Kingdom of Burma in 1886, the Society prepared to occupy yet another Eastern field. It had given such help as it could to the American missionaries, and for over twenty years the Committee had co-operated with the Burma Bible and Tract Society. With their aid supplies of Burmese New Testament Portions were printed, and a few colporteurs were at work at Moulmein, Rangoon, and on the steamers of the Flotilla Company between Rangoon and Mandalay. But this addition to the dominions of the Queen-Empress brought with it responsibilities and opportunities which called for larger and more systematic efforts.

A population of 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 was scattered over the fertile plains and among the great rounded hills in numberless little thatched villages studded with white pagodas; and in every village was a Buddhist monastery, and at least one yellow-robed monk to teach the boys the mysteries of the alphabet, "the Great Basket of Learning." For it was a Buddhist land; nine-tenths of the people were believers in "the Blessed One"; its very name was said to record the conversion of the Mongoloid tribes of the Upper Irawadi by missionaries from the "holy inhabitants" of Buddhist India.[1] Nearly all the men and a considerable number of the women could read; there was no caste, and the social condition of women had not been debased by seclusion.

In 1888 the preparation of an edition of Judson's Burmese New Testament revised on lines that would make it acceptable to missionaries of all denominations was committed to Dr Strachan, Bishop of Rangoon; in the following year Burma was added to the list of the Society's foreign agencies; and in August 1890 Mr Oscar de Glanville reached his post at Rangoon.

[1] "Burma" is the British pronunciation of Mran-ma, which the people themselves call Bam-mā, and contains the allusion to the old Buddhist mission.—*See* Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson.*

The country had become less unsettled, the outlook more favourable. The fall of a powerful Buddhistic dynasty had shaken the Burman's proud complacency in his idol-worship; intelligent traders and agriculturists were not slow to perceive the advantages of British rule, and new ideas and influences were opening the minds of men. Unfortunately the agency started badly "handicapped" by lack of suitable books. A depôt was opened at Rangoon, with sub-depôts at Pegu and Toungu; a small band of colporteurs was got together; an Auxiliary was founded at Mandalay, and there, as at Rangoon, an influential local committee was formed. In less than two and a half years close upon 40,000 copies of Scripture were circulated; but these were nearly all in Indian tongues, and were sold among the Panjabi troops and the Bengali and Madrassi coolies who came over in hundreds and dispersed for the rice-harvest over the great paddy plains of the Irawadi delta. In the vernaculars of the people among whom the agent had been sent to labour the Society did not own the translation of a single portion of the Word of God. "Without Burmese and Karen books we can do comparatively nothing."

Correspondence in connection with the proposed revision of the Burmese New Testament covered the interval between 1888 and 1894, but nothing came of it. In such a condition of things the real purpose of the Committee was seen to be impracticable. At the end of 1893 the agency was closed; the best arrangements possible were made for a continued supply of the available Scriptures in Rangoon; and Mr Organe, the secretary for Madras, was commissioned to visit the country and study all the facts of the case upon the spot.

During the next five years he spent weeks and sometimes months together in tours through Burma, in patient and tactful endeavours to reconcile divergent opinions, in taking part in services and meetings for the promotion of the Society, in conferences with the Bishop of the diocese,

The Rev. John H. Ritson

missionaries, and other friends for the furtherance of Bible-work. A depôt was opened at Moulmein, especially for the sale of English, Telugu and Tamil Scriptures; another at Mandalay under the management of missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Wesleyan Missionary Society; yet another at Thayetmyo; and two at Rangoon, where arrangements were made for colportage among the shipping from all parts of the world.

At length it was made clear in 1896 that the American Baptist Mission, unable to follow the course of their English brethren in Bengal, could not acquiesce in the Society's use of the Judson Burmese version if any change was to be made in the rigidly denominational renderings of the words "Baptism" and "Baptize." The Committee had accordingly no resource, reluctant though they were, but to sanction the preparation of another version by a joint board of revision. This was in 1897, and in the same year, after careful and prolonged consultation with the Bishop, it was decided to revive the agency.

In 1899, all hope of united action having been abandoned, the appointments to the board of revision were completed. The Rev. T. Rickard of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Rev. A. H. Bestall of the Wesleyan Missionary Society were elected revisers-in-chief, and the first session took place in February 1900. But the work was scarcely begun when Mr Rickard was smitten with fever at Rangoon. He was carried on board the first homeward-bound steamer, and was happily restored to health. From his retreat at Torquay he sent out week by week an instalment of his task to his colleague labouring at Mandalay or in his grass hut at Maymyo, above the sweltering summer of the plains. He was allowed to return to Burma in the autumn of 1902, but in the following March he was again invalided, and died on the 17th May, shortly after reaching England.

Meanwhile, 5000 copies of St Mark, published in March 1902, were quickly exhausted, and an edition of 10,000 was put to press; St Luke (5000), which appeared in the course of the year, was followed in 1903 by the First and Fourth Gospels (5000 each) and 3000 copies of the Psalms. Sold at a farthing or a halfpenny each, these Gospels brought the Word of Life within reach of the poorest, and were in urgent demand with every mission. "The help which these books have been to mission work in Burma," wrote one lady missionary, "is almost incalculable." In 1903 there also passed through the press at Rangoon a version by a Burmese Christian—"The New Testament of the Lord, translated from the latest English versions by Tun Nyein, Government translator"—which in time was to take its place in the Society's catalogue.[1]

It was not until January 1899 that the Rev. W. Sherratt, who had served two years in Burma and had been generously released by the Wesleyan Missionary Society, took office at Rangoon as agent, and at once threw himself into the work of laying deep and wide the basis of a permanent organisation. Suitable premises were obtained in the great sea-port for a central depôt and headquarters, and an advisory committee was formed under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice of Burma. Branch depôts, supervised by missionaries and other gentlemen interested in Christian work, were founded at Mandalay and Toungu, Pegu, Pakokku and Monywa, Bassein and Moulmein, Kyaukse and Shwebo. A little band of from six to ten colporteurs was engaged, and the agent himself, turning aside from his public meetings and visitations, led the way on more than one jungle tour, and was surprised to find the people not only willing but often eager to purchase the Scriptures. In time the men came to travel their 3000

[1] It was purchased by the Society in 1906, passed through the hands of a revision committee, and was published in 1909.

and 4000 miles a year, and to offer their books to 20,000 or 30,000 houses in many hundreds of villages. They met with trials and discouragements, were persecuted by Buddhist and Hindu, but bravely stood the test, and frequent testimony was borne to the value of their work.

Biblewomen too, six after the first year, were among these pioneers. They sold fearlessly everywhere—at the railway station, in the Court-house garden, beside the gilded Shwe Dagon Pagoda, on the high hill-top, under the shadow of the great bronze Buddha during the Lent pilgrim festival. Their dusky sisters were not cloistered, it was true, but the apparent equality of the sexes was wholly on the surface: "Why do you come and talk to us women about religion—are we not as dogs?"

The Scriptures circulated were in Tamil, Telugu, Burmese (obtained from the American Baptist Mission Press[1]), and two-and-twenty other languages. By arrangement with the American Baptist Union 1000 copies of each of the Four Gospels were printed for the Society in the last years of the period from Dr Cushing's Shan Testament. This also was a denominational version, but no other was available, and the Committee could not suffer a mere question of interpretation to overrule the claims of a lettered and ancient race to the Divine Message in their own tongue.

In 1899 the Psalter in Talaing, the language of the old kingdom of Pegu, still spoken by upwards of a million people, was placed at the disposal of the Society. Undertaken by Dr Haswell, it had been completed by the Rev. R. Halliday of the Churches of Christ Mission, which entered the field at Ye in 1892. Delay was caused by the difficulty of getting type; then the "copy" was mislaid or lost by the printer; but at length in 1904 the volume, set up from a new

[1] The cheapest Gospel portion in Burmese, until the Society's revised Gospels appeared, were unfortunately published at six times the price of the same book in Tamil or Urdu.

and improved manuscript, was printed at Rangoon, under the eye of the translator.

We leave the agency at the close of the period firmly established, in cordial co-operation with nearly all the Protestant Missions, and closely connected, for the sake of economy, with the Young Men's Christian Association. Between 1899 and 1904 the Society had expended £5545; the receipts amounted to £475; and some 49,800 copies of Scripture had been put into circulation. A great work lay to its hands. After long years of missionary labour less than 2 per cent. of the population of Burma was Christian. There were still hundreds of jungle villages in which the Buddha, unchallenged, sat dreaming of annihilation among the temple bells; which no portion of the Gospel had ever reached; and in which the yellow-robed teacher had not heard even of the name of Christ.[1]

[1] According to the Indian Census of 1901, while the population of Burma proper had grown from 7,722,000 to 9,253,000, the number of Christians had only increased from 122,768 to 145,726.

CHAPTER LXV

MALAYSIA

"WOULD to God that He would lay Malaysia on the heart of many of His people, as China and Africa have been laid! Our hearts often sink within us as, month after month, we see bands of missionaries *passing* us, and going on to China."

It was the appeal of a man overborne for the moment by the vision of the immense agency committed to his charge, with such native colporteurs as he could find and keep for a few weeks together. The main field of Bible-work was the Straits Settlements, the Protected States (Perak, Selangor, Pahang) and Singapore, grown with traffic now more than ever the centre of an ever-changing population. In these regions there were "only six, if there were six," English missionaries; in the swarming island-world of Malaysia, stretching eastward across 2000 miles of tropic waters and teeming with unnumbered races and strange tongues, there was not one. At home the Committee had been tempted by the project of a Bible-ship entering the great rivers, landing its crew of colporteurs on shores where the name of Christ was unknown, passing from island to island — Celebes and Java, each as large as England, Sumatra twice, and Borneo five times as large—and onward through the myriad clusters to Australia and the Philippines. But beyond the generous offer which accompanied the proposal, such a scheme would have entailed a heavier annual outlay than the Society could afford, and required for success a widespread missionary co-operation.

Under the divine blessing the progress of the Society in Malaysia was to be laid out gradually on other lines. In June 1885 Mr Haffenden received from Holland his first colleague, Paulus Penninga, who through all vicissitudes was to remain by his side to the end. A second, Frederick Studd, arrived in 1886, but, unable to endure the climate, passed on to China. Then in April 1888 Haffenden returned from his first furlough in England with five young men—Alfred Lea, George Irving, Benjamin Purdy, A. W. Boram and F. de P. Castells, a Spaniard — selected one might well believe by the very hand of Providence. It was the unexpected and brilliant opening of a new era in the new agency. Boram proceeded at once to Western Java, and after some busy months amid the novel scenes of the peninsula, the little band scattered in 1889 over the eastern seas—Lea to the Straits Settlements, Irving to Western Borneo, Purdy to Sumatra. Most daring enterprise of all, an attempt was made to bring the Philippines within the pale of the agency.[1]

As far back as 1873 the Gospel of St Luke in Pangasinan —the first Portion in any of the Philippine vernaculars—had been presented to the Society by the translator. In 1887 it was revised and printed in London. The language was spoken by about 300,000 people in the north-west of Luzon; the translator, Señor Manrique Alonso Lallave of Seville, had been for twelve years a Dominican friar in the island. At the request of the Committee he proceeded with his version; had almost completed the New Testament and seen the whole of the Gospels and Acts through the press at Madrid, when he volunteered for active service among the people of his old faith. Accompanied by Castells he entered on a more perilous adventure than any

[1] In 1889 it was just three hundred years since Hakluyt, wondering at the sight of "borne naturalles of Japan and the Philippinaes speaking our language" in the England of Elizabeth, took it for a sign that we should one day carry to their doors "the incomparable treasure of the Gospell."—*Epistle Dedicatorie*, 1589.

dreamed of. They landed in Manilla in March. Shortly afterwards both were stricken down together, some said by fever, others by poison. Lallave, an old man, succumbed, and so bitter was the hatred of the priests that his body lay for days in the cemetery unburied. Castells recovered, was thrown into prison by some malign influence, released, and banished from Spanish territory. One Bible in Chinese and seven Bibles and a Testament in Spanish was all that was sold in this unsuccessful attempt; but large supplies of Spanish Scriptures and 8000 copies in Pangasinan, shipped to Singapore, awaited God's good time.

1890 was full of stir and colour. The circulation in the agency exceeded 48,300 copies in 36 languages, dominated by the great tongues, Chinese, Malay, Tamil and Javanese. Some 16,000 were sold by native colporteurs; nearly 30,000 by the sub-agents. Never had there been such stress of Bible-work in these Eastern seas—Alfuor and Macassar Scriptures sold for the first time in the place where the language was spoken; the supply of Dutch exhausted on the coffee estates and among the half-Hollandish villages about Minahassa; in West Sumatra Gospels eagerly bought by the Batta Christians, and hundreds of Batta children heard singing Sankey's hymns where forty years ago the people were ruthless cannibals; the whole coast of Borneo, with its numberless settlements of Arabs, Malays, Chinese and Bugis ("the gypsies of the sea"), traced from headland to headland; days of sharp fever and trying experiences among the tiger-spoors and waist-deep jungle swamps of Java; busy days in Billiton of the iron mines, and in Bali where Hinduism and caste prevailed and each family dwelt within its own earth-walls.

Sickness from the fierce tropic heats and arduous toil took its toll of the white men during the next three years, but none were lost. In August 1893 at the Batavia Exhibition the Word of God was displayed in forty languages,

and about 1000 copies were sold to people of all races and colours, including island sultans and their consorts. In March 1894 the staff was strengthened by the arrival of four more sub-agents—Robert Watt, Tilden Eldridge, F. J. Chapman, J. Travers Smith, and Miss Leader, the first of the Society's "women colporteurs." Unhappily neither Mr Smith nor Miss Leader could withstand the climate. In 1896 the latter returned home, and the former, who went on to China, was succeeded by Walter James. The work expanded; the very air seemed alive with the approach of a spiritual change. The Women's Foreign Mission, the American Methodist Episcopalians, and the Moravian Brethren availed themselves of the grants for Biblewomen, and a liberal arrangement with the agency enabled missionaries to take a larger share in distribution with their own colporteurs. Another woman colporteur, Miss Dyke, was sent out in 1896; in the following year she was joined by Miss Thomas; Mr W. H. Williams was added to the staff in the autumn; and when Mr Haffenden left early in 1898 to rest and recruit, the charge of the agency was intrusted to the Rev. H. F. Miller, of Melbourne.

At this point we must go back to the year 1891, when we obtain the first glimpse of the great French colonies and protectorates of Cochin China. The mere coast-line stretched 1000 miles from the Chinese frontier to the borders of Siam. Rome had set foot there as early as 1583. French and Spanish clergy were scattered in posts over the country. They claimed half a million adherents in a population of over 20,000,000; the rest were for the most part worshippers of Buddha and Confucius. No Protestant influence had touched these regions when in 1891 the wandering French missionary M. Hocquard landed with a supply of the Society's Scriptures at Saigon. The Gospel of St Luke in Annamese, translated by Professor Bonet of the Paris School of Oriental Languages and for

many years a resident in Annam, had just been published in Paris—printed too in Quoc Ngu, "the language of the country," a modified Roman character which had taken the place of the Chinese in all the schools.

Assured of protection by the French consul at Singapore, and kindly received by the authorities when he arrived, Castells entered French Cochin China as sub-agent in 1892. His success was immediate. The French were won by his attention to their sick soldiers; an Annamese shopkeeper read the Gospel, took down Daikoku the god of gold and put in its place the idol of "a good heart"; a teacher laid aside Kung-Fu-Tze and made St Luke his text-book; over 3000 copies in Chinese, French and other tongues were quickly sold. But ill-health compelled his return to England, and a few months later he was commissioned to Spanish Central America.

Robert Watt, who took up the work in 1894, was succeeded in the autumn of 1896 by Walter James, who made rapid progress in acquiring Annamese and Cambodian. In 1897 he cast his nets wide; visited Mytho the Papal stronghold, Chandoc, Cho-Lon the busiest town in the colonies, Bien Ho the great lake of Cambodia, Hanoi the capital of Tonkin; presented the Bible in Chinese to the Prince of Cambodia, with a copy for the mere shadow of a king, his father; and persuaded the royal interpreter Vong to translate the Gospel of St Luke.

In response to his appeal—for his great difficulty was not in selling the Scriptures but in reaching the inland villages — Mrs Warton of Elstree generously provided a small mission boat for the network of rivers and canals which covered the country. The *Robert Warton* reached Saigon in July 1899, and in a few weeks James was in the heart of Cochin China among a strange race and their stranger gods. The Scriptures were readily and even thankfully purchased. From year to year the circulation increased

with amazing rapidity — 6990 copies in 1895; 30,650 in 1898; and now in 1899 upwards of 42,500. The hostility of Rome, awakened, found vehement expression in the Saigon press. The only French Protestant missionaries, two in Tonkin, were too remote to affect the issue, and the year closed in grave anxiety as to the continuance of the work.

Mr James had completed the Acts in Annamese, and his translations of John and Mark were passing through the press in January 1900, when he was forbidden by the authorities to hold any communication whatever with the natives. A week or two later the Cambodian version of St Luke was in circulation in Pnom-penh, the Cambodian capital, where Alexander Lawrence and F. G. Williams had taken up work in 1899. Eager eyes scanned the first book printed in the language; "many bonzes bought copies, and hid them in their yellow robes." The little mission boat was sent over from Saigon, but the antagonism of Rome had spread to the realm of the shadowy Norodom. Regarded with suspicion as Englishmen by the French authorities, the sub-agents were at last turned back on the Mekong, and Bible-work was stopped throughout the French colonies.

Before these events, however, the rupture between the United States and Spain had opened a fresh chapter in the story of the agency. Suddenly through the thundering of warships came the call for the Spanish and Pangasinan Scriptures which had lain in readiness for nine long years at Singapore. On May Day 1898 the victory of Manilla Bay broke up for ever the dominion of Spain and the rule of the Spanish friar in the Philippines. The capital surrendered in mid-August; three weeks later Mr Randall, the nearest of the Society's sub-agents in China, took up the thwarted work of Castells and Lallave, and for the first time in three centuries the Word of God in the tongues

of the people was openly sold in the streets of Manilla. The United States authorities received him with every kindness and encouragement. Aguinaldo, the Filipino "President," accepted a Spanish Bible and English Testament presented in the name of the Society, and gave him a safe-conduct to the Pangasinan country. Before the year ended 3466 copies of Scripture in Spanish, Pangasinan, Chinese and English were disposed of, and 124 were distributed gratis—a few to friendly priests, most to prisoners and the wounded in hospital.

By a strange providence translations into two other Luzon vernaculars had just left the press in Madrid. In Tagálog, the language of the predominant race in the Philippines, the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts (in all 7000 copies) were translated, printed, bound and shipped to the East in the course of nine months. The version was the work of Don Pascual Poblete, a Filipino journalist and political exile, assisted by Mr Walker, the agent for Spain, who checked it verse by verse with the original Greek. Similarly the Gospel of St Luke, translated by Don Cayetano Lucban, a Filipino lawyer and sometime prisoner of war, was published in Bicol, the speech of 800,000 in South Luzon and the smaller islands. Yet another exiled journalist, Don Isabelo de los Reyes, translated the same Gospel into Ilocan, spoken by about 360,000 along the north-west coast. It appeared in 1899 — the fourth of the Philippine Bible tongues printed by the agency in Madrid.

In June 1899 Mr Randall returned to his post in Kwangsi, and the Rev. H. F. Miller succeeded as head of a new agency, "North Malaysia," which was to include Indo-China and the Philippine Archipelago, a maze of two thousand islands in which a dozen languages were spoken by the Malayan population and fourteen more by the aboriginal Papuan tribes. The American Methodist and

American Presbyterian Missions, the Brethren, and the Anglican Brotherhood of St Andrew sent in their pioneers. Neither least nor last, the American Bible Society claimed its place under the national flag; the Committee readily shared with it their supplies of vernacular Scriptures, and arrangements were made between them for a friendly division of the field.

All through the year work was restricted by the disturbed condition of the provinces, but after the dispersion of the insurgents Mr Miller obtained in January 1900 his first glimpses of Roman Catholicism in the towns of North-western Luzon. He found the people so willing to buy that he quickly disposed of his whole stock of Pangasinan. The abrupt suppression of all Bible operations in French Indo-China hurried him to Saigon at the end of February. The Governor of Cochin China proved inflexible; though apparently not unwilling, the Resident-General of Cambodia was unable to grant a formal authorisation of the work. The three sub-agents accordingly withdrew to Manilla, where Mr G. C. Bartter had arrived in March to assist in the North Malaysian Agency.

It was still dangerous to go far from the garrison towns, but on market-days these were crowded with people from the neighbouring villages, and otherwise a considerable distribution was effected by railway, launch and steamer. Mr Walter James returned home. Mr A. Lawrence colported round Manilla until malarial fever occasioned his transfer to Japan. Mr F. G. Williams remained, and made successful journeys by boat and rail; and Mr Bartter, who sold in five provinces upwards of 14,500 copies of Scripture in their own vernaculars,[1] was the first Bibleman to land in Cebu. There, three hundred and eighty years gone by, Magellan,

[1] Bisayan, the language of "the Painted (tattoo'd) Folk," numerically the most important of the Philippine tongues, had just been added. Early in 1900, 3000 copies of St Mark, by Pastor Lund of the American Baptist Union and a Bisayan collaborator, were printed at Madrid.

discovering the group, had had Mass celebrated on the shore and had claimed the islands for the Pope and the King of Spain. Mr Bartter was rejoiced on returning in 1903 to find that a vigorous little Protestant congregation had sprung up, and that open-air services were held twice a week on the spot where he sold his first Gospel.

A more definite agreement was made between the two Bible Societies in the course of 1900. The American became responsible for version work in Bisayan, Ilocan and Pampangan, and the British and Foreign, resigning its precedence in Ilocan and Bisayan, undertook Tagálog, Bicol and Pangasinan. For some time each restricted its colportage to the districts for which it translated, but this understanding was abandoned late in 1901, and thenceforward the two Societies, adopting uniform prices, laboured amicably side by side.

On Christmas Eve 1900 the first European Biblewomen reached Manilla, acquired Spanish and Tagálog, and, scarcely touched at all by the strong anti-Protestant feeling abroad, had much success down to the summer of 1903, when one left the Society, and the other, whose health broke down at Iloilo, returned to England.

Another sub-agent, Mr G. A. Barnard, was added to the staff in 1901; and in the autumn of the following year Mr Percy Graham, who had seen service as an evangelist in Mexico and accountant of the Church Missionary Society in Mombasa, relieved the Rev. H. F. Miller, resigned in consequence of Mrs Miller's ill-health. Meanwhile version work had made some progress. The Gospels of Luke and John in Pangasinan, revised by Miller with the help of a native schoolmaster, were published in 1899. Luke in Bicol was reprinted at Singapore in 1900, revised among the Bicol people by Bartter, and re-issued in Manilla in 1904. Tagálog was taken up by Miller; native assistance was obtained in several provinces, and after various delays—

matrices devoured by rats, plates broken up for the lead —the complete New Testament, the first in a Philippine language, was printed in Japan and passed into circulation in July 1902. Six thousand were sold in less than six months, and altogether 27,550 copies in Tagálog in the course of the year. Genesis and Exodus were in manuscript, and when Mr Miller left for his Australian home he took with him Sofronio Calderon, his chief translator, and completed the Old Testament by the end of 1903.[1]

What a stirring and vivid story of colportage came from these "mountainous, volcanic, snake-infested, robber-haunted Philippines"! The American authorities gave every facility for travelling; coast-wise shipping firms furthered the work; missionaries, schoolmasters (of whom some 1300 were scattered over the islands) were ever-ready friends and helpers. To-day among the coloured U.S. troops, holding divine service or conducting a soldier's funeral; to-morrow in a fanatical village, where the Scriptures were burned and "the word of the priest was the end of all controversy"; now cycling among the hills, canoeing on rivers aswarm with alligators, threading tracks through miles of tropic forest to occasional houses; now travelling in solid-wheeled waggons drawn by huge-horned carabaoes, or using the magic-lantern in the cockpits of towns and hamlets, the sub-agents pushed through the country, awakening among the people a great desire for the Gospel, "the story of the Martyr of Golgotha." Starting with 3500 copies in the four months of 1899, the agency circulated up to 1904, 180,600 in ten languages, and of these no fewer than 146,400 by colportage.[2]

The "generous help" of the Society and "the thoroughness of their work in the circulation of the Word of God, which in this as in all countries must needs be the ploughing

[1] The Tagálog Bible appeared in 1905.

[2] In the last two years alone upwards of 38,900 copies were sold in Tagálog, 26,600 in Chinese, 23,900 in Spanish, 16,300 in Bisayan, 10,500 in Pangasinan. A Filipino and a Chinese colporteur were employed from 1902 onwards.

for the missionaries' sowing" were gratefully recognised in 1903 in a resolution of the American Presbyterian missionaries at their annual conference in Manilla.

The evil rule of the Spanish friar was at an end. Archbishop Aglipay had broken with the Vatican, and the "Iglesia Independente" of the Philippines, broadly Roman Catholic in its creed but freed from Papal supremacy and insistent on an open Bible, already numbered thousands of adherents.

Bible-work in French Indo-China was transferred to the Paris Agency. A second edition of St Luke in Cambodian was ready in 1901, but it was not until late in the following year that, after steady pressure, the Government sanctioned the employment of a French colporteur, and an experienced man was allowed to land at Tourane in Annam.

About 7000 copies of Scripture were sold in 1903, and an edition of 10,000 copies of the Acts in Annamese left the press in Paris. The circulation during the six years of English work, 1895-1900, exceeded 126,400.

In 1899 the annual circulation in Malaysia had attained its maximum—86,500 copies. After the division of the great agency the work in South Malaysia opened out on new and brighter lines, and the yearly issues rose quickly to 69,800 copies. Missionary co-operation increased. Thanks to the brilliant example of the sub-agents, a finer class of native colporteurs was developed, so that in a little time half the sales of the year passed through their hands. Two native Biblewomen were added to the staff in 1900, and the number was gradually enlarged with such successful results that in 1903 the English women-colporteurs were discontinued.[1] In 1900 a depôt and sub-agent's residence, towards the cost of

[1] One of the most gifted and beloved of these, Miss Thomas, died at Batavia on July 1899. Five more were sent out after her death.

which the Committee voted a grant of £300, were erected at Kwala Lumpor in Selangor, the seat of the Federated Malay Government.

One would fain linger over the details of the work, but only the agency journals with their vivid pictures of "the lands along the burning line" can reproduce the labours and triumphs of these years,—labours so stoutly and cheerfully maintained in despite of hardships, dangers, sickness and bereavement. In 1902 Mr Irving returned from Sumatra, lamed beyond remedy in a railway accident.[1] Another sub-agent, Mr W. H. Williams of Penang, lost his wife, and after taking his little children home to England, resumed his place with the five Englishmen who remained with Mr Haffenden to the end.

From the beginning of the agency in 1882 onward to the Centenary the number of Scriptures circulated in the regions under Mr Haffenden's care was upwards of 1,023,000 sold and some 10,000 distributed gratis. Besides these over 280,000 Chinese, Malay and Javanese Almanacs, containing simple and striking texts, were disposed of. Even the most fanatical of Mohammedans bought them and hung them upon their walls, and in many cases the texts led to the purchase of the Gospels.

The agency required versions in thirty-seven languages. At Singapore amid the "five solid miles of masts and funnels," troop-ships, convict-ships, battle-ships and merchantmen gave chances all through the period for sales in Russian, Polish, German, and other Western languages. The average sale in English was 880, in Dutch 920 a year. The principal Eastern tongues ran in sequence:—Chinese, 586,400; Malay (in Roman and Arabic character), 190,800; Tamil, 93,000; Javanese, 79,300 copies—for the twenty-two years.

[1] Among good friends who aided the cause, the Society owed much to the Netherlands India Government and the private Railway Company in Java for passes over their lines, to the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij for free freight of Scriptures to all parts of Netherlands India, and to the ever-helpful consultative committee at Singapore.

In 1883 Mr Haffenden had found Gericke's Javanese version unsuitable, and a new translation was undertaken by the Rev. P. Jansz of the Dutch Baptist (Mennonite) Mission. Luke appeared in 1886, the New Testament in 1890 and the Old in 1893. Revision followed. Editions in Pegon (pointed Arabic), the only character read by Javanese, were prepared, very largely with the help of Penninga, who, when the old translator's eyesight failed, completed the final revision of the New Testament.[1]

Revised editions of the Malay Gospels, Acts, Psalms, Proverbs and Genesis, were issued up to 1890. The text, however, left much to be desired, and on his way out to China, Dr William Wright enlisted the Bishop of Singapore in the production of a more perfect Malay version. Matthew in its new form appeared in 1897, but it was not until 1901-02, when the Rev. W. G. Shellabear of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission was chief reviser, that the other Gospels and Acts passed into circulation. In the Low Malay of Java and the neighbouring isles the Four Gospels and Acts by the Rev. H. C. Klinkert were published in 1888, and in 1891 Matthew, by Miss Macmahon of the English Presbyterian Mission, Singapore, in Baba Malay, the dialect of the country-born Chinese.

The New Testament in Sangirese was followed by the Psalms in 1886 and Proverbs in 1888. In 1897 the Committee enrolled Mr Kelling among the Society's Honorary Foreign Members, but the good old Moravian in remote Tagulandang had lost his sight over his version work, and was now quite blind. He died in 1900, over-against his memorable volcano Ruang, in the seventy-first year of his age and the forty-fifth of his mission life. His son Paul saw the revised New Testament through the press.

For the Battas in Sumatra the Psalms in Mandailing,

[1] Jansz, whose missionary service in Java covered fifty-two years, died in 1904 at the age of eighty-three.

translated by the Rev. Chr. Schütz, were published in 1889, and his revision of Schreiber's New Testament appeared in February 1903. A month later died Dr Schreiber, one of the Society's Honorary Foreign Members. In 1894 the translation of the Old Testament by the Rev. P. Johannsen completed the Bible in Toba, the northern and more widely spread dialect. In both dialects 48,600 copies were printed during the period.

Among other Scriptures in Eastern tongues circulated by the agency were the Sunda, Nias, Madura and Dyak versions of the Netherlands Bible Society, whose chief field of work outside Holland was in the islands of the Dutch East Indies, and whose co-operation with the British and Foreign Bible Society was of the happiest character. But although much had been accomplished in the way of translation, linguistic work in North and South Malaysia appeared to have been only begun at the close of this history; there were still 157 languages scheduled as "worthy of being provided with a version of the Holy Scriptures."

The expenditure of the Society on the whole of Malaysia during the twenty years amounted to £85,826, and of this vast total £46,328 was laid out on colportage, or £11,000 more than the cost of colportage in the whole of India, Burma and Ceylon.[1] The receipts came to £7524.

[1] The expenditure on North Malaysia, £9928 (Colportage, £4572); receipts, £1522.

CHAPTER LXVI

THE VAST FIELD OF CHINA

ONCE and again were repeated those noble contributions for Bible-work in China which had so often encouraged the Committee to enlarge the compass of their responsibilities. In 1884, £1000 was presented by the Rev. T. R. Fisher, founder and for many years secretary of the Canterbury Auxiliary, New Zealand; in 1885 another cheque for £1500 —"an offering to God towards China's great want"—came from the anonymous friend of former years; and in 1887 a gift of £2000 ("Is the Bible to pervade China—who will help?") brought the donations of this generous advocate of the cause to an aggregate of £10,500. Never was "wealth well used" more literally "the net of the sacred fisher who gathers souls of men out of the deep."[1]

The division of the Empire into three agencies was completed in February 1886, when Mr Alexander Kenmure took charge of the southern provinces—Fukien, Kwang-tung, Kwangsi, Kweichow and Yunnan—with the islands of Formosa and Hainan. Unaffected by this change, the local committees and the missionaries superintending colportage continued their operations within the larger scheme of organisation. Scarcity of suitable candidates, failing health, resignation, death, calls to other duties—thrice within two years the Society's men passed over to mission service —prevented the entire realisation of the plan for colportage province by province under a European superintendent. On this side, however, the agencies were splendidly

[1] Ruskin, *A Joy for Ever*, § 120.

supplemented by the China Inland Mission and by the missionaries of all denominations. In the province of Shantung, indeed, Bible-work was regarded for a number of years with a coldness as strange as it was unfortunate in its results, and for a brief period preference was given at Foochow to a system which combined the distribution of other books with the sale of the Scriptures ; but, speaking broadly, the Society met on all sides with the heartiest co-operation ; its men were welcomed as pioneers and brother-workers, were nursed in sickness, and when the need arose their places were filled with unfailing *esprit de corps*.

In five years the number of Chinese colporteurs in the three agencies increased from 61 to 116, and the annual circulation expanded from 163,120 copies in 1884-85 to 232,198 in 1888-89. Imagination vainly strives to picture the wide-ranging activity, the courage, the endurance which produced these results. In Manchuria the Word of Life was carried to Port Arthur in the south ; northward to the banks of the Sungari and remote Sansing on the edge of Siberia ; westward through the Palisade of the Mongols at Fakumen. Chinese and Korean Scriptures were sold among the mixed population on the borders of Chosen. Colporteurs sought out the Korean settlers in the exterior valleys of the Age-long White Mountain. In March 1887 Mr R. T. Turley, who had many years of eventful service before him, was appointed sub-agent of the district. Beyond Kirin he found Mohammedans who called Jesus *Ersa*, "The Holy One," and always spoke of Ya-la-be (Araby) as their true country. Further still to the north-east, in "the Fifth Circuit of Wilderness," he came upon many towns and villages in the clearings of the dense forest, all fermenting with the excitement of strange sects seeking darkly after the unknown God. "I have searched into every religion," said an old Taoist priest, who listened eagerly and bought many books, "but when I get to the bottom they are all empty

and unsatisfying." "The work of the colporteur is telling powerfully," wrote Mr Ross after a tour through the northern stations, in which he had baptized fifty-six people; "the Scriptures are being read now over the province as never before."

Biblemen visited the cave-dwellers in the glens and gorges between the plains of Chihli and those of Shansi. Taiyuen in Shansi was the headquarters of a European chief-colporteur, and here the land reeked with heathenism. Bulging, narrow-necked jars were placed on the roofs to entrap demons; acacia-trees were worshipped and decked with votive offerings; in time of drought strips of paper inscribed with prayers for rain were hung across the streets, and before every door, before the temples of the gods even, a willow-branch in a water-jar was set out to prevail upon "the Holy Dragon, the Great King of the Four Lakes and the Four Seas," to loosen the showers of heaven. At Ling-shih, the Town of the Spirit Stone, Mr Bryant saw the huge iron boulder which some believed to be the anchor of a celestial ship, dropped from the skies, and before which the poor credulous people burned incense on the 1st and the 15th of every month. Further south at Pingyang, a Christian centre where some three hundred believers had burned their idols and endured severe persecution for their faith, he stationed Mr David Evans as head-colporteur for the neighbouring province of Shensi. In Kansu one of the Inland missionaries laboured for a time among the Moslems, who seldom named Mohammed, but readily talked of Moses and of the coming of Jesus to establish a Kingdom in Syria—faint echoes, it almost seemed, of the teachings of the old-world Nestorian missionaries. "It is by Bible-work," he wrote, "not by ordinary missionary agency, that the Moslem population of China is going to be evangelised."

In Shantung, which, in a great measure through gratuitous distribution of Scriptures and tracts and the method of

selling at nominal prices, had become "the most indifferent in China," Mr Paton raised the circulation to little less than 10,000 copies in the disastrous cholera year 1888, when the main road was turned to a *via dolorosa*, and from half a million to a million of people were committed to the earth in sorrow without hope. At Shanghai Mr Day, once himself a sailor, worked among the motley concourse of seafarers—English and French, Scandinavian, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese, Italian, Arabs, Manilla-men, Chinese and Japanese. Away inland, at Huchow, the decline of the silk-trade was ascribed to "the corrupt religion of Jesus," and the people were urged to expel the foreign devil and confiscate any property sold to him. In the populous plain, south of Kiangyin on the Yangtze River, the Gospel seemed to have roused a Buddhist "revival." Priests from the great monastery at Changchow went through the streets beating tabors and calling on the people to repent and turn to Kwan-Yin, the Goddess of Mercy. All along the highways the trees were hung with rush baskets filled with the ashes of paper money—"the taxes of the dead"—to propitiate the spirits of the departed. "I got a lesson in earnestness which I shall not easily forget," wrote Mr Murray; "these men seemed to believe in what they preached."

In July 1886 the city of Chungking—of all the great cities on the Yangtze second only to Hankow in population and commerce—was the scene of one of those outbursts of ferocity which bewilder the European mind. The attack was provoked by the military students assembled for examination. The stations of the American Methodist Episcopal and China Inland Missions, the Bible depôt and Mr Mollmann's headquarters, even the cathedral and bishop's residence of the Roman Catholics, who had long regarded Chungking as their stronghold in the west, were sacked and burned to the ground. Providentially the Europeans escaped without loss of life, were escorted by gunboats some distance down the river,

and reached Hankow in safety. After a tour in the Island of Chusan, Mr Mollmann returned to his post in the autumn of 1888. For the last time he saw the Yangtze gorges, which he had first ascended with Mr Griffith John twenty years before. From January to June in 1889 he travelled some 1400 miles, visiting 77 towns and villages, and selling 5000 copies; was again afoot during the heat of July and August, but was obliged to seek medical advice at Chengtu towards the close of the year. Weakness of the heart was diagnosed; and, returning to Chungking, he applied for leave of absence. He recovered sufficiently to make a journey into the south, from which he returned at the end of February, dissatisfied with his sales. A fortnight later he set out in a native boat on the Yangtze River. Icy winds broke down his remaining strength, and as he became aware of his danger he bade his boatman hasten to the C.I.M. station at Wanhsien. On the 27th March, after three days of thwarted efforts, he arrived in the high fever of pneumonia. It was a bachelor station, but no woman could have been more tender in her care than Mr Hope Gill and his colleague. Medical help came twelve hours too late. The veteran of the Society's workers in China died on the 30th March 1890; on the 1st April a *cortège* of ten Chinese Christians laid him to rest on the hillside.

The Bible Christian Mission was at work in Yunnan; the C.I.M. station at Talifu, in the midst of a population largely Moslem, was the outermost post in Western China. On the edge of the province, along the upper reaches of the Yangtze, the missionaries came in contact with the aboriginal Miaotze and with the unconquered Mantze, who, if they had no written language, had at least no idols. Twice in Kweichow Mr Upcraft was robbed and brutally maltreated; but from one place visited by the colporteurs messengers came to ask him to go and teach them the Way of Life, and one poor creature pawned his clothing to obtain

a Bible. No foreigner was allowed to live in Kwangsi, which still bore the traces of the Taiping Rebellion; travelling was difficult and dangerous; the distrust and suspicion of the people were as tinder. The mandarin of a township where Mr Stenvall and his men stayed for some days was warned to watch them at night, lest they should steal into the mountains and spirit away their treasures. A dark and hostile region!—but the story of one aged Chinaman revealed that even here divine grace was working in secret ways. When he was a lad of twelve a book was brought to his village by a student from Canton. It was a torn copy of Leang-Afa's *Good Words to Admonish the Age*—the gleanings from the New Testament which had first stirred the great Taiping leader. He read it from time to time; fifty-eight years slipped away; and at last the imperfect paraphrase of the Gospel brought the old man to the waters of baptism.

From the work in the province of Kwangtung emerges an episode touched with the sadness of the awakened soul which has not yet found hope. It was in Nynpoilyang:—

"A rich man, brother of a Christian, invited us to stay some time in his house. We remained two days. We visited all the small places round about. His son accompanied us, and was not ashamed of helping us. When we entered a village we went to the small temple, and found shade and refreshment. We sold many books. In the evening time the relatives of the Christians assembled in the great hall of the house. They were very glad to hear the good tidings. When we took leave of our host, he presented us with some verses, which I will try to translate:—

"Mr Reinhardt has ten thousand books,
Which he spreads in all villages, in all towns.
The youth come to him, see the books, and people laugh at them.
Why do you laugh? Do you not know that that book contains the origin of all things?

"This time I have not yet penetrated the depth of the doctrine of God.
My heart still is doubting, and you take leave of me.
Oh, could I see where your road leads you to!
Oh, could I know that one day the truth will enlighten my heart!"

In strange contrast was the vile inn in which a European colporteur sought shelter. In the guest-room he found a coffin with a dead man and a cage with a prisoner, whose hands and feet were loaded with chains. He had been a rich man, a gambler; had lost his wealth, slain his uncle in a fit of rage, and was on his way to death. "I asked the Mandarin for permission to give the prisoner a Gospel. At first he would not allow it; but at last"—with something of the humanity of Paul's centurion—"he ordered his chain to be taken off. I gave the unfortunate man a Gospel, which he accepted."

In Hongkong, as at Shanghai, a colporteur in the little mission vessel *Evangelist* flitted among the ever-varied shipping, visited especially the native coasters and the steamers trading with Hainan, Bangkok, Formosa and Manilla, and spent the New Year in the harbours of Shaukiwan, Yaumati and Stanley, among the fleets of Chinese fishing junks which once in the twelve months put in from sea for that high festival.

Through the province of Chekiang, the colporteurs went forth under the direction of the missionaries at Hangchow, Shauhing, Ningpo, at Fenghwa and Kiuchow, at Kinhwa, Yungkang, and Wenchow; and in Fukien the increasing corps under the local committee circulated their 40,000 and 50,000 copies a year—"numbers all the more astonishing," wrote Mr Macgowan of Amoy, "when it is remembered how very poor the population generally are." For here young women dragged plough and harrow in the fields, and long lines of worn men, with loads of salt and fish from the sea, panted up from ridge to ridge through the marvellous scenery of Sianin, "the pleasure-ground of the fairies." What must it have been for such as these to hear the call, "Come to me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden"! In one village, ravaged by cholera, the terrified people had crowded before their grotesque idol, and

the priests had prescribed a succession of costly ceremonies, when the colporteurs arrived. "How shall this block of wood save you?" asked the strangers, and began to speak of the true God, who alone could hear their prayer. The senseless idol was dragged from its shrine and hewn to pieces. No sudden destruction befell the iconoclasts, and about twenty of the villagers became attendants at a church not far away. "For six years and more," said a favourite story-teller under the village banyan-tree, "I told you those old tales" — of ghosts and hobgoblins, of Tartar battles, of ancient heroes, of modern romance — "but I never found that they changed your character or mine for the better. The reading of this book has; and these are the stories I shall now tell." It was the Gospel of St Luke. Left in his care by a colporteur, who could not prevail on him to accept it, it had lain forgotten for nearly seven years. Then one night the story-teller dreamed he was on the mountains in the dark. A glimmering light which he followed went out on a perilous ledge. The terrors of sleep fell upon him. Suddenly the colporteur appeared at his side, took him by the hand, and led him to a palace of delights. So vivid a dream, he felt, must have some meaning. He inquired for the colporteur, but could not find him. Then he thought of the book left in his care. He opened it, read it more and more, became a Christian, and so the stories of Bethlehem and Calvary came to be told under the great banyan.

Thus, to a greater or less degree according to circumstances, the Word of God was distributed in every province of the Empire. Progress was made with the translations already begun; new vernaculars were undertaken; "Colloquial" Gospels in the speech of Canton, Foochow, and Amoy were embossed for the blind; and Griffith John's version of the New Testament in Easy Wenli,[1] completed

[1] "Easy Wenli" is a simplified and more widely readable form of the High or

by the Scottish Society in 1886, was gladly adopted in the three agencies.

In 1890 the entire question of Chinese versions was raised above personal controversy and denominational views by the decision of the General Missionary Conference, which met in Shanghai on the 7th May. It was up to that time probably the largest assemblage of missionaries ever brought together. Thirty-six missionary organisations and 1300 members of various nationalities were represented by 445 delegates. For forty years the Protestant Missions had been divided by rival translations of the Holy Scriptures. The need for agreement and concerted action was admitted, unity was the prayer of many hearts, yet upon the eve of these deliberations few were sanguine enough to anticipate any satisfactory result. When a unanimous report in favour of a standard Bible was brought in to the Conference on the 14th, the whole audience rose like one man, and burst into a hymn of thanksgiving, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow." "I saw tears of joy in the eyes of strong men," said Dr William Wright, the Editorial Superintendent of the Society, "and my heart was too full to permit my lips to sing, for the object on which my Committee had set their hearts was attained, and the cause of union on which I had come to China was victorious." As the outcome of the Conference, translation committees were appointed to revise "the Delegates' Version" with the aid of all available material, to prepare a new translation in Easy Wenli, and to secure an improved version in Mandarin; and in order that these should be but one Bible in three forms, the three committees were combined for the settle-

Classic Wenli. High Wenli, the script of the Confucian classics and standard literature, is an ideographic system, not a spoken language. Like the Arabic numerals in Europe, it is intelligible to the eye throughout the Empire. "Mandarin" in one or other of its varieties is the spoken language of three-fourths of the population—some 300,000,000, while the various vernaculars are in daily use among great masses of the people in different localities.

ment of the text and for the decision of all questions of interpretation.[1] Other committees were organised to watch over the production of vernacular versions and to provide for the requirements of the blind. The cost of preparing and printing these Conference versions was undertaken conjointly by the three Bible Societies; but many unforeseen hindrances delayed the execution of these projects, as we shall note before the close of this chapter.

The course of 1891 and 1892 was disturbed by a revival of anti-foreign and anti-Christian savagery, which even the Imperial Edicts seemed unable to quell. In some provinces work was suspended; in others small sales were effected at serious risk; but happily the Society sustained no direct loss, and in places at a distance from the scenes of confusion the people showed a marked readiness to listen and purchase. In May 1891 the death of the Rev. James Gilmour—"our Gilmour" as he was called in the Tartar tents—removed the only British missionary, if not the only missionary, who had mastered the Mongol language, and the only European who could aid in giving the Scriptures to the nomad tribes among which he had laboured for twenty years.

The repeated illness of Mrs Bryant and her departure from China with no prospect of returning led to her husband's resignation of the Northern Agency in March 1892; and after eight years' experience the Committee abandoned the triple agency system and reverted to the original plan of a single executive centre at Shanghai, which commanded the readiest access to all parts of the Empire.

[1] In November 1891 the following groups of translators were appointed by the Executive of the Conference: *High Wenli*, 5 translators; Dr John Chalmers (L.M.S.), Dr Edkins, Dr Sheffield (A.B.C.F.M.), Rev. J. Wherry (A.P.M.), and the Rev. M. Schaub (Basel Mission); *Easy Wenli*, 5 translators, Bishop Burdon, Dr J. W. Davis (A.S.P.M.), Dr Graves (A.S.B.M.), Rev. J. C. Gibson (E.P.M.), and Rev. I. Genähr (Rhenish Mission); *Mandarin*, 7 translators; Dr Blodget, Dr Mateer (A.P.M.), Dr Nevius (A.P.M.), Rev. C. Goodrich (A.B.C.F.M.), Rev. J. R. Hykes (A.M.E.M.), Rev. G. Owen (L.M.S.), and Rev. T. Bramfit (W.M.S.). As Dr Blodget, Dr Nevius, and Mr Hykes were unable to serve, their places were taken by the Rev. S. R. Clark (C.I.M.), the Rev. H. M. Woods (A.P.M.S.), and the Rev. F. W. Baller (C.I.M.).

Late in the year Mr Dyer returned from England as sole agent. Mr Kenmure, who had taken charge during his furlough, was afterwards transferred to Korea; and in August 1893 Mr W. J. Lewis, formerly of the China Inland Mission, set about the re-organisation and development of colportage throughout the country, and the establishment of closer and more effective relations with the missionaries of the various societies. His work covered two years, and before he left the Chinese staff was increased to 180 men (many only occasionally employed), their sales had risen to 207,500 copies, and the circulation for the year had reached the large total of 288,700.

From the cold plateau of the Blue Lake country (Ko-ko-nor), whither Tibetan Gospels were passing across the border of Szechwan, from Moslem homes in Western Yunnan, away into the furthest north-east, numberless details told of splendid service. The Gospel had begun to influence the lives of many among the literary classes, and from the heart of Confucianism came the cry of dispossession: "These men have come into our beautiful country; they build chapels; the sound of their bells is heard far and near. The menaceful sound enters into the Halls of the Ancestors, into our family graves. Our sons and daughters will die, and the foreigner and his faith will triumph."

In Manchuria, within a few weeks of the Chino-Japanese War—that amazing apparition of a military power which flung the sword of "the Yellow Dwarf" into the scales of the world's politics—an acute observer sketched the transformation effected by the spell of the Word of God. "The favourable reception given to Christianity was one of the features of Moukden." Public deference and private regard marked the relations between the Scottish missionaries and the mandarins and high officials of the Manchu capital. Among the friendly people twenty-five years' intercourse and the prefix "honourable" had changed the very name

"devil" into a polite address. Scattered over the vast country were numerous Christian communities—among them "many members of those secret societies whose strongest bond of union was the search after righteousness"—who had constructed from the Scriptures their own worship and discipline. "Until the roads became unsafe, there was scarcely a day during my long visit, in which there were not deputations from distant villages asking for Christian workers."[1] 1893 had closed with a circulation of 24,000 copies; the colporteurs were pressing in on the Mongols all along the west; a missionary Bible committee had just been formed at Moukden, and Mr Turley had gone to Seoul to confer with Mr Dyer on further development, when hostilities began. It became his first duty to escort a number of ladies to Chefoo for safety; but in September he had made his way back to his post at Newchwang. In Chihli and Shantung all work had been stopped — "the country believes that we are all helping the Japanese"— and one of the colporteurs had been seized as a spy; the depôt which had been opened in Moukden was closed; at Liaoyang, while protecting defenceless ladies from insult, the Rev. J. A. Wylie of the Presbyterian Mission, a faithful friend and earnest Bibleman, had been done to death.

In October the Japanese crossed the Yalu; on the 12th November Port Arthur was attacked by sea and land. While Oyama's guns thundered against the doomed fortresses, a unique gift was presented to the Dowager Empress, Tsze Hsi An, through the British and American ministers at Peking. At the sitting of the Shanghai Conference it had been suggested that the Protestant women of China should present the New Testament to their Empress on her sixtieth birthday, that age of especial honour in the Dragon Empire. The proposal was at once adopted, and 1200 dollars were subscribed by over 10,000 Christian women worshipping in

[1] Mrs Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbours*, vol. i. p. 237.

connection with twenty-nine different Missions. The text was that of the "Delegates," the most beautiful of all the versions in Chinese; but it required a peculiar revision, for many of its characters had been rendered obsolete by having been used in the names of ruling sovereigns. The volume was printed on costly satin paper, bordered with a design in gold, and bound in silver "boards" weighing 4½ lbs. and exquisitely wrought in an emblematic relief of birds (messengers) and bamboo reeds (peace). On a section of the cover appeared the title in gold characters; in the centre a plate of gold bore the inscription, "Classic of Salvation for the world." A special introduction, prepared by the venerable Dr Muirhead and translated by Mr Wang, the native scholar who gave the version its classic charm eight-and-forty years before, was prefixed to "the silver book" in the most excellent style of native caligraphy. The gift was graciously accepted by her Majesty,[1] who sent tokens of her favour to certain of the foreign ladies connected with the movement; and shortly afterwards the Emperor himself ordered copies of the Old and New Testament from the Peking depôt of the American Bible Society. Whether it counted for anything or for nothing in after events, the incident was unique in the Chinese annals.[2]

Peace with Japan was concluded in April 1895, but the provinces were seething with excitement and insurrection. Mission stations were destroyed in Szechwan; the Rev. R. W. Stewart, eight ladies and two children were massacred at Hwasang near Kucheng; in Manchuria brigand hordes plundered whole districts and carried the people into captivity. The circulation, which had risen during the war to 288,700—the highest on record—dropped to 236,700.

[1] By some misadventure the New Testament and the address reached Pekin four days late, in company with Queen Victoria's presents.

[2] This "Imperial Testament" was afterwards reproduced in less costly materials; and at Shanghai in 1896 the Baptist Church at Old North Gate presented a copy to his Excellency Li Hung Chang before he sailed to attend the coronation of the Czar.

It proved but a momentary flagging. Mr Dyer retired in the autumn after nearly nineteen years' service;[1] the Rev. George Henry Bondfield succeeded as agent for China;[2] and in 1896—under conditions which recalled the brilliant promise of the early years of the Taiping enthusiasts, but peaceful, with every assurance of stability—a new period of expansion began.

The war had written in blood and fire the stern warning: Change, if China is to survive. The awakening sense of the nation made itself heard at Peking. The Emperor turned for safety to the books of the West; Kang Yu-wei, "the Modern Sage," was summoned to his councils; the Palace filled with daring reformers. Western education was sanctioned. The Bible was recognised in the examination halls. Foreign drill was introduced; even foreign dress and the abolition of the pigtail, it was said, were the subject of an edict, which was drafted but withheld.[3]

From the printing of Morrison's New Testament in 1813 to the beginning of 1896 it was estimated that nearly five and three-quarter million copies of Scripture, mostly Portions, had been circulated in China. In the next four years of these progressive innovations over two and a half millions more were added to that aggregate. The annual distribution rose steadily from 366,000 to 856,000; apart from the areas of the local committees, the provinces were gradually allocated to twelve European sub-agents; the number of Chinese colporteurs constantly employed increased from 106 to 250; 38 Biblewomen were at work;[4] and, for the

[1] Died at Shanghai, 25th July 1898, in his sixty-fifth year.

[2] Born at Chard, June 1855; appointed under the London Missionary Society to Amoy, 1883; transferred to the L.M.S. station at Hongkong, 1887, where he also served as minister of the Union Church.

[3] Scidmore, *China the Long-lived Empire*, pp. 128-136. At the examination at Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi, in 1897 the candidates were asked, "What do you know of the re-peopling of the world by Noah and his family?" And the text-book recommended to students was the Old Testament.—*Griffith John*, p. 251.

[4] At the beginning of 1900 there were at work 59 missionary organisations (2800 missionaries, including wives). Most of the colporteurs were under the direction of 161 missionaries connected with 31 of these organisations.

first time, in 1899 the year's printing exceeded 1,000,000 copies.

The reports give an impression of efficiency, of buoyant strength, of divine blessing never before equalled. Look into the north-east! In 1898 Mr Islay F. Drysdale, sometime of the China Inland Mission, is placed in charge of the Kirin sub-agency of Manchuria. He and his staff of seven press forward through unknown regions, among secret sects and a turbulent race. Southern Manchuria is "a land of churches"; many a market-town and village has its place of worship, its house of prayer. Depôts are scattered over the country, which is mapped out into mission districts. At the close of 1899 the circulation has risen to 81,800; there are 49 Scotch and Irish Presbyterian missionaries; 20,000 church members — probably as many more adherents.

Turn to the remote south-west! Kansu, South-west Shensi, and North Szechwan have been grouped into a sub-agency. From Tenkar (Donkhur) on the Kansu border Mr Peter Rijnhart, the Dutch missionary, goes out to the Panaka tribes south of the Blue Lake. He gives a book at every tent. The Lhassa caravan passes, and many a Gospel is carried through the forbidden land to the veiled city. In May 1898 he and his wife, with their little child, set out on a last tragic Bible-tour. They wander through the tribes of the Zaidam, and as they traverse the trackless mountain wilderness the babe dies, on the 22nd August. Beyond the Khanlung range they halt among a squalid but friendly people, who can read, and who buy a number of Gospels with butter and curds. At Ngachuka, on the 31st, a chief bars their advance, and they turn towards Tatsienlu in Szechwan. On the 21st September they are attacked by robbers; three of their ponies are shot, five others are driven off, and their servants desert them.

"Mr Rijnhart and myself were left alone, with only some food and bedding and one poor tired-out horse. It had snowed heavily, and we fell several times, while the horse slipped and rolled over and over. At last we came to a halt on a steep hill sloping down to a river. Far down stream the telescope showed tents, with cattle and sheep grazing on the hill-sides, but all on the opposite bank. On 26th September, after much prayer, my husband descended the hill, with the intention of swimming the river and reaching those tents to secure help. I waited, alone with God, until dark, praying much as the hours sped on and he came not."

He never came. At Tatsienlu, where after many weeks she arrives as if by a miracle, her last prayer is that God may send workers into this needy land.

On Tatsienlu, high among the mountains, converge the trade routes of China and Tibet. Yak-trains bring down gold, musk, stags' antlers, wool, and return laden with tea. It has been the headquarters of the "Tibetan band" of the China Inland Mission since 1897. The Gospel has been preached, the Word of Life sold, in each of its eight-and-forty great merchant-inns. Twenty days to the west, beyond Bat'ang, the route crosses a pass through which no European may enter the sacred territory of the Dalai Lama. In 1898 this is William Soutter's Pisgah. Stricken with typhoid, he lays down his life "in the lonely outpost of a Tibetan village." For three months in 1899 Mr Amundsen distributes the Scriptures in tracts of Tibet which few explorers and no Protestant missionary have ever seen, passes through Mili, the realm of a priest-king, and returns through the province of Yunnan.

Cast your glance beyond the Great Outer Wall. The first Mongolian Bibleman is at work with the Rev. Franz Larsen at Kalgan. From his Tientsin sub-agency Mr David Evans keeps touch with the Scandinavian missionaries who have fixed their stations at Urga and Uliassutai on the further edge of the Deserts of Sand (Shamo) and Shingle (Gobi). Thousands of Portions from the Selenginsk version

and supplies of St Matthew in Mongol Colloquial have been printed. They are bartered in Mongol camps for sour milk, cheese, scarves, ribbons, lambskins, fuel. At the great temples the numerous yellow-robed lamas listen curiously to the strangers and are eager to obtain books. The missionaries reach Wangyefu among the wooded border hills where the caravan track runs from Urga to Lhassa. There they come upon a "living Buddha" —the reincarnation of some divine effluence of bygone days—reading one of the Gospels!

Everywhere activity, endurance, sacrifice! The flag of the *Shaftesbury*, the Bible-boat, in charge of Mr Day, flutters along the inland waterways of Kiangsu. There are sub-agents in Shantung (with its foreign colonies at Weiheiwei and Tsingtau), Honan and North Anhwei, South Anhwei and Kiangsi. In Shansi the committee at Taiyuan, formed in 1890, has been dissolved, and the China Inland Mission has withdrawn from the capital, but the Rev. W. Beynon remains as sub-agent. Mr Pilquist is in Shensi. In Hupeh the colporteurs frequent the great provincial inns — each inn reserved to its chosen province — and the crowds of junks at Hankow. At Hongkong Mr Bosshard is in charge of the depôt and the Hakka-speaking colporteurs. At last Kwangsi has its sub-agent, its depôt at the new treaty port of Wuchow, its staff of Biblemen who cover thousands of miles and find the people less hostile now to foreigners and Christianity than the inhabitants of Kwangtung. Gospels in tens of thousands are distributed at the examination halls. Hundreds of thousands of calendars carry a text for each day of the year into the homes of the people. The large increase in depôt sales and the proportion of New Testaments compared with Portions tell of the deepening interest taken in the Word of God. "Faster than India," writes the veteran Dr Edkins in 1899, "sooner than Japan, China will become a Christian land; and it

will be the greatest victory achieved by the Christian religion since the conversion of the Roman Emperor Constantine."[1]

Then the page turns. It is June 1900; and in a moment Missions and Bible work are overwhelmed by the Boxer catastrophe.

[1] The Rev. Dr Edkins of the London Missionary Society, who had been identified with Bible Society work for over fifty-six years in China, died at Shanghai 23rd April 1905, aged eighty-one.

[In this and the following chapter names of places are given in the spelling adopted by the Chinese Imperial Postal and Telegraph services, which has been accepted in the main by Père L. Richard in his *Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire* (Shanghai 1908), and completely by the China Inland Mission in their Atlas[1] and Reports. It has also been adopted by the *North China Daily News*, the leading English paper in China. The transliteration is based on the Southern Mandarin pronunciation of the names rather than on the Pekingese Mandarin sound.]

[1] Stanford, *Atlas of the Chinese Empire* (Morgan & Scott).

CHAPTER LXVII

THE BOXERS, AND AFTERWARDS

THERE had been signs and mutterings of the storm—better understood after the event,—but no premonition of the actual danger. The effect of the *coup d'état* which suppressed the Emperor and crushed the reformers was seen in the aggressive insolence of the Peking crowds. Chekiang and Anhwei had been thrown into wild excitement by reports that foreigners were poisoning the wells. In South-west Shensi tracts and calendars were torn down and books hidden, in dread of some rebel chief whose hand would not be stayed wherever Christian literature was found. Manchuria was seething with rumours of war. Even in Mongolia, whatever may have been the cause of the unrest there, Mr Stenberg noted among the tribes, "instead of continued goodwill, closed doors and superstition-filled hearts." But little apprehension was caused by these troubles; and until the last moment the native teachers and pastors were ignorant of the true condition of affairs.

The outbreak of the I-Ho-Chuan—the Boxers, the Patriots of the Big Fist—began in Shantung, spread like fire in Ho-nan, Shansi, and Chihli, and swept in red ruin throughout Manchuria. In a few short weeks nearly every Christian church and chapel, scores of mission compounds, schools, hospitals, Bible depôts, book-rooms were plundered and destroyed. Outrage and massacre assumed their most wanton and barbarous forms. Biblewomen died singing under the sword; native Christians and colporteurs were

made into "living torches," as in the days of Nero; the heads of martyred women were hung by the hair on the branches of trees; even little children hiding in the millet fields were not spared. For the most part those who perished were slain in the blind fury of carnage; but in some cases the distinct issue, "Christ and death; Buddha and life," was put before them, and to the glory of the native Churches there were men and women who faced that last test without a tremor. "Repent?" answered blind Ch'ang of Taiping-kow, who knew the Testament by heart from "The book of the generation" to "The grace of the Lord"—"I repented long ago, and believe in Jesus"; and his head fell with an unfinished prayer on its lips. Grown bold in the strength given him from above, the old colporteur Han Yih-shan preached to the Boxers, told them how little they knew if they thought they could end Christianity by burning churches; "in three years there would be three times as many Christians and chapels in Yenshan." Him they laid, like a truss of straw, under the straw-cutter. In their human weakness, many, it is true, fell away—publicly abjured the name of Christ, purchased or accepted Boxer certificates of recantation, conformed more or less directly to heathen worship; but many more "witnessed a good confession," and among those who escaped to the mountain glens there was a pathetic anxiety for the preservation of the Word of God. Copies of the Scriptures were hidden among the rocks, and children were bidden to remember the spot, so that when the reign of terror had passed away the faith might still survive; for few had any hope of ever seeing the face of a European missionary again.

With one sorrowful exception, the Society's sub-agents were mercifully preserved through these disastrous days. The Kirin missionaries and Mr Drysdale and his young family arrived at Vladivostock under a Russian escort. Warned not a moment too soon, Mr and Mrs Turley and the

friends at Moukden left for Newchwang, and crossed to Kobé. From Szechwan, Hunan, and Kiangsi, Fergusson, Haight, and Day reached the coast without difficulty. Mr Evans placed his family in safety, and remained at Tientsin. On the 27th June Mr Beynon telegraphed for information from Taiyuanfu in Shansi. His message reached Shanghai two days later, but immediately afterwards all the lines were interrupted, and no reply could be sent through. For a time it was hoped that he and Mrs Beynon with their little children—Daisy aged eleven, Kenneth aged nine, and Norman aged seven—had taken refuge with native Christians among the hills. Strong and enlightened Viceroys preserved Shensi and Hupeh from the Boxer atrocities ; in Shansi the infamous Yu Hsien was the ready accomplice of the Peking reactionaries. Within the limits of his jurisdiction 600 Protestant Christians are said to have been done to death. The Beynons suffered at Taiyuan among the forty-four members of European missions who were decoyed by his promises of protection, led out to death stripped to the waist like common malefactors, and treacherously slain before his yamên—three by his own hand, the rest by his ruffians of the Big Fist. Beynon's last report of his work closed with words which have now a poignant earnestness : " We pray that in this coming year the God of all grace will give us all grace to be faithful " ; and the same thought was in the mind of another martyr, the Society's first Biblewoman in Western China, when she last bade her directress farewell : " Pray for us that we may be faithful."

One hundred and eighty missionaries and their wives, lady missionaries, and children, at least 5000 native Protestants, and 25,000 Roman Catholics perished in this bloody rising, which—however obscure its origin—was no casual outbreak of the rabble against Christian Missions, but essentially a development of the reactionary policy which carried the *coup d'état*, and which would have annihilated

the European Legations. If the Boxer conspiracy was not actually devised by the highest authorities, their complicity was placed beyond doubt by the receipts for foreign heads and foreign plunder, notes of subsidies to the Boxer leader, bills of charges for Boxer casualties, which were found in the Viceroy's yamên when Tientsin was taken. In the autumn of the same year five members of the Scandinavian Mongol Mission—Mr Stenberg, Mr Süber, and three lady workers—were murdered at a place north-west of Paotao; a sixth, Mr Friedström, escaped. Mr Stenberg was preparing a "Colloquial" Gospel from the text of Swan and Stallybrass when thus, for the third time, the work among the Mongol tribes was arrested.

Christendom was thrilled with horror, pity, indignation; but the Churches were upheld by the steadfast faith, the clear vision of their strong men in the East. "There are glorious days for missions in China right before us," wrote Griffith John from Hankow, where all through August fugitives were arriving on their way to the coast:—

"I am surprised to hear that people are talking about giving up the work in China; they must be mad surely. . . . My heart is full of hope, full of eager expectation. The demands for missionaries will be greater than ever; the demand for the Bible and other Christian books will be greater than ever; the demand for Western education will be greater than ever. . . . All these sufferings through which the Church is passing are terrible to think of; but we shall find that they have a place in God's plan."

We shall see how speedily that stirring forecast was realised.

The Society's losses, comparatively small, were estimated at £3000, but the Committee decided to make no claim for compensation.[1] The depôt at Newchwang was saved, and thither, at the risk of their lives, Mr Turley's devoted Chinese helpers had brought his account-books and many

[1] In appreciation of this conciliatory course, the Taotai of Kiukiang subscribed 400 dollars, the amount of the Society's loss in that city, and was presented in return with a copy of the Imperial New Testament and a Mandarin Bible, which he accepted with warm acknowledgments and good wishes for the Society.

of his personal effects. The premises at Tientsin, struck by a Chinese shell during the siege, escaped with but little damage; but 266,000 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions perished in the looting and burning of the other depôts and book-rooms. The destruction of Scriptures throughout the north was incalculable. After the occupation of Peking by the Allies, there were only two or three Testaments among the two hundred Christians who assembled for worship among the ruins of the compound of the London Missionary Society. But the year had not ended when the demand for fresh supplies showed how ineffectual had been the attempt to uproot Christianity; and long before the signature of the peace protocol (September 1901) and the return of the Court to Peking, Governors of provinces and other high officials had cordially welcomed back the missionaries to their stations, and the colporteurs were selling freely among the very people who had sought their lives a few months before, but who now were eager to question them as to their faith and its sustaining power under persecution.

The change seemed too sudden to be lasting, but disaster and humiliation had forced upon the Chinese the necessity for reform. The progressive spirit among the literary classes revived. A profound impression was made by the patriotic appeal and the searching criticisms of Chang Chi-tung, the Viceroy of Hupeh, who summed up the situation in the title of his book, *Learn!* Chinese education was revolutionised; modern essays took the place of the Wen Chang, or classical thesis, in public examinations; colleges became schools of Western learning; promising young men were ordered to be sent abroad for the completion of their studies. The protection and respect due to foreigners were enforced by imperial edicts, and proclamations recognised the rights of native Christians and the good work of missionary organisations.

In Shantung, where the Boxer movement began, the

circulation rose from 10,800 copies in 1900 to an unprecedented 32,000 in 1901, to 81,000 in 1902, to 88,685 in 1903. The Book was carried in all directions—among the islands of Kiauchow Bay, the villages along the coast, the inland market-places and towns, the seventh-century cloisters of Taoist and Buddhist monks among the Pearl Mountains, where the name of the Lord Jesus had long been known. One evening in 1903 Mr Kunze and his colporteur were kindly received at the ancient monastery, Huayuenngan. In the guest-room the old priest who brought them refreshments questioned them about the story of the Creation and God's dealing with men in former times. Why? In the market-place at Tsimo, a little town near the German colony, he had bought a book which told the story, and that book was now passing from hand to hand in the monastery. After the evening meal they were taken to the Abbot, whom they found sitting in his high chair, with thirty or forty of his brotherhood around him. "I beg you, sir," he said, "to tell us your message. I am an old man, and my memory is failing; but may the ears of my younger priests listen"; and when the missionary had spoken for an hour or more of the truths of the Gospel he gave the venerable Abbot his own Bible, and the Abbot gave him in return a curious old book, darkened with age. *Holy Men of all Generations* was the title of the book, and it contained pictures of saintly persons, each bearing some sign—a small moon, or one or two little suns—to mark the degree of holiness he had attained in his earthly life. Jesus the Saviour was amongst them, pictured as a Chinaman, and He bore the sign of perfect holiness—three suns. Whence came this old-world book with its legend of Him who was "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners"?

In the Tientsin sub-agency (to which Mr Drysdale was appointed in 1902), the circulation, which had fallen from 270,000 in 1899 to 98,000 copies in 1901, rose in the following

year to 192,000, and exceeded 234,000 as the period closed. A new interest in the Scriptures sprang up among some of the leaders of the *literati* in Chihli, and one Chinese gentleman, though not a Christian himself, bought 500 Bibles and 300 Testaments for schools which he was opening throughout his district. As the colporteurs travelled from place to place, they met with constant courtesy and good-will; and in Tientsin city one zealous worker was allowed to pitch his Bible tent in a public thoroughfare. Their number now included two notable men—Yao Chen-yuen, one of the "Sheoyang Memorial" Biblemen,[1] who had faced death many times to carry messages between the besieged Legations in Peking and the Consuls at Tientsin; and Chao Yün-ming, a Boxer leader, who had been so deeply moved by the long-suffering and magnanimity of the Christians, that he too became a penitent believer in the Lord whom he had persecuted.

In six other provinces — Honan, Shensi, Kansu, Szechwan, Yunnan, and Kweichow—the recovery was equally wonderful. Just before the outbreak the united circulation of these provinces amounted to 138,000 copies. In 1901 it dropped to 3781. A year later, in spite of disturbances and rumours of rebellion, it exceeded 157,000. There were still dangerous districts in Honan. Only the arrival of a strong Viceroy saved Szechwan in 1902 from a recurrence of the Boxer outrages. There, on his way to Jenshow the old colporteur, Kie Ta-ie was attacked by a mob and literally hewn to pieces, and another Bibleman narrowly escaped a similar fate.[2] In 1903 Mr Amundsen, who had served for five years under the Inland Mission, was appointed sub-agent for Yunnan and Kweichow, with a view to

[1] Early in 1903 £550 was presented to the Society by a lady, in memory of the martyrs of Sheoyang, for the support of two additional colporteurs.

[2] About the same time Mr Fergusson, the sub-agent, was thrice wrecked on the Yangtze River, and wounded in beating off an attack of pirates.

developments on the Tibetan frontier and along the trade routes to Burma.

The lost ground in Mongolia and the Chinese border stretching from Kalgan were made a sub-agency in 1902 under Mr Franz August Larsen, one of the two survivors of the Scandinavian Mongol Mission; and before the end of the period over 20,000 copies of Scripture were sold at Tartar fairs, tent villages, lamaseries, trading centres, as he travelled thousands of miles with his colporteur "Morning Star" and his small caravan of camels—the only witness for Christ in the robber-raided wilds of that hungry land.

In Kiangsi and Anhwei the declension was made good in 1901; in Chekiang and Hupeh and Hunan in 1902, when the figures of 1899 were exceeded by 15,000 copies. Kiangsu (Shanghai) alone failed to retrieve its position. The circulation, which had exceeded 85,000 in 1899, dropped to 30,000 in 1901, and did not rise much beyond 47,000 in 1903.

The effects of the rising were felt longest in Manchuria. Mr Turley was again at his post, and the principal mission centres were nearly all re-occupied in the spring of 1901; but these vast regions were in a disastrous state of confusion. The authorities had lost control; the Russians, who were in military occupation, scarcely concerned themselves with civil administration; hostility to all things foreign and Christian was kept alive by the secret societies which had absorbed the unpunished Boxers; the whole region was harried and terrorised by companies of mounted brigands, who were allowed to escape, or who routed or bought off the troops sent against them. During the Boxer year the circulation had only declined from 81,800 to 61,000 copies; in 1901 it fell to 15,000.

Two years later, though lawlessness and brigandage had not been entirely suppressed, the whole aspect of affairs had changed. Manchuria was once more a single sub-agency.

From Ashihho, in the north of the Kirin province, a long chain of mission stations stretched to Antung at the mouth of the Yalu; from east to west mission stations almost linked together the borders of Korea and Mongolia. In this great area, and beyond it, forty-four colporteurs—among them a Buddhist priest, who as a priest was rich but who had sacrificed all for Christ—scattered wide the Word of Life. Two had conciliated the people of Tsitsihar, in the Nonni Valley, two hundred miles further north than the most northerly mission station; two more had journeyed in the Hulanho district south of the Amur, where the fruitful soil had tempted many Chinese to make their homes. Every possible help and encouragement had been given by the Russian Viceroy (Alexieff); books and men were franked by the railway authorities; military passes gave free access to the troops. At Harbin—a wonderful thing, consider it rightly—one might have seen men of the Siberian and Manchurian agencies joining hands with the colporteurs of the Holy Synod in the same good work. Six Biblewomen were employed under missionary supervision. Ten depôts and book-rooms were open, and that at Moukden had proved so attractive to the upper classes that the Government had itself taken a shop hard by to supply ordinary Western literature. The circulation amounted to 81,070 copies; and thus, on the eve of the terrible Russo-Japanese War, the sub-agency had regained its position, and the returns were within 800 copies of those for 1899, when Southern Manchuria was a land of churches.[1]

Such were the broad outlines of a revival, probably the most extraordinary in the records of the Society. In the

[1] A few months later, when many a sufferer in the Red Cross hospitals found strength and peace in the Scriptures, the Chinese Christians in the neutral zone between Manchuria and Korea gave practical proof of their religion. Remembering their own sorrows when the Boxers destroyed their homes, they invited their distressed fellow-Christians around Moukden and Liaoyang, where food was scarce and dear, to send their wives and children out to "No Man's Land." For three months at least they would feed and lodge them as their own blood relations.

south the work bore many evidences of blessing. The circulation in the province of Fukien (Amoy and Foochow) showed amidst curious fluctuations an average of 70,000 copies, while the annual returns for Kwangsi, Kwangtung, and Hongkong increased almost steadily from 67,000 in 1899 to 127,000 in 1903.

In brief, the total distribution in China, which in consequence of the Boxer outbreak, declined from 856,000 in 1899 to 604,000 in 1900 and 431,000 in the following year, leaped up to 872,000 in 1902, and reached the high-water mark of 934,900 copies at the close. In 1903-04 there were 11 European sub-agents on the staff; 327 colporteurs (=258 in constant employ) were at work, for the most part under supervision of 182 missionaries; the year's printing, exclusive of 261,000 calendars, exceeded, for the first time, one and a half million copies (1,580,989), and the year's issues almost reached one and a quarter (1,247,495). Organisation had been enlarged and methods improved, but the secret of the agency's success was in the hearts of the people.

We must now turn to matters passed over in the preceding survey.

For some time after Mr Paton's tours in 1882 there was little to note of Formosa. He was again at work there when the French bombarded Kelung in 1884, and we find mention of "thirty villages, with some four thousand inhabitants who had come over to Christianity *en masse*." But the doings of the French aroused an indiscriminate hatred of all foreigners; the native Christians were soon included; chapels were wrecked, villages looted, and "men, women, and children maltreated even unto blood." In December 1886 Mr Kenmure was present at the formation of a local Bible Committee at Taiwan, and acquired some knowledge of the savage tribes in the forests of the eastern mountains, and of the Hakkas and Pepohuans (reclaimed savages) in the fringe of villages between the wild aborigines and the west-coast

Chinese. The Island of High Peaks was ceded to Japan in 1895, but remained a part of the Fukien Bible district. In 1898 the first of several Japanese colporteurs was engaged, and a depôt was opened at Taipeh. Illiteracy proved a serious obstacle, yet 82,495 copies of Scripture were distributed in the five years 1898-1902. In 1903 the English and Canadian Presbyterian Missions practically divided the island; there were over 2300 communicants; two Chinese colporteurs were at work in the north, and two colporteurs and a Biblewoman in the south.

Chinese Biblewomen seem to have been first employed at Shanghai in 1864, but it was not until 1888 that one of them appears in the financial accounts of the Society. The number increased to twelve in 1896 and to twenty-eight in 1898. During the concluding five years it varied from twenty-nine to thirty-nine, and the expenditure for those years amounted to £860.

In the matter of versions, the New Testament in Easy Wenli was the first of the projects of the Shanghai Conference to attain (so far) completion. Published tentatively in three sections between 1897 and 1899, it was issued in one volume in 1903. When the High Wenli translators met at Peking for their first session, April to June 1901, two of their number had already been called away. Dr Chalmers, a Life Governor of the Society, died at Chemulpo in November 1899, and the Rev. Martin Schaub at Hongkong in September 1900, but their joint work on the version was represented by an edition of the New Testament, privately printed in 1897. Dr Sheffield's MS. of 1 John ii.–Revelation xxii. perished during the Boxer tumults, and the work had to be done a second time. The New Testament had not been finished when the period ended. In the Mandarin (Peking) version a tentative edition of the Acts appeared in 1899. One of the translators, Dr Goodrich, went through the siege of the

Legations at Peking. Long and laborious sessions were held in 1901, and in 1904 Revelation, the final section of the New Testament, was in the press for tentative publication.

Earlier in the period, an edition of the New Testament in Northern Mandarin, transliterated and edited by the Rev. W. Cooper for the China Inland Mission, was issued in Latin type in 1888. In 1896 the American Bible Society courteously shared with the Committee the text of the Old Testament in Northern Mandarin, which Bishop Scherechewsky had been revising for eleven years. In 1897 the New Testament appeared at Shanghai, with references by David Evans and the Rev. W. T. Beynon, sub-agents of the Society.

The New Testament and ten or eleven books of the Old had appeared from time to time in the Shanghai Colloquial. As a result of the Conference, the Shanghai Vernacular Society appointed a committee to prepare a "Union" Bible, at the joint expense of the British and American Bible Societies, but unhappily the terms used in the new version restricted its publication to the latter. Since 1880 Dr William Muirhead had been associated with the earlier translation work in this language. At his death in 1900 the Committee lost a valued friend of some fifty years' standing. When he went out to China in 1847 there were barely twenty Protestant missionaries in the whole Empire. On several occasions he had conducted the affairs of the agency; for over twenty years he was secretary of the Shanghai Committee, and for fifteen his name had stood on the roll of Vice-Presidents.

In Punti, the vernacular of Canton, Mark and Luke were printed in Latin character between 1890 and 1894. A little later the local committee assented to the issue of the New Testament. The same Gospels, prepared by the Rev. W. Bridie, were issued in an improved system of "romanisation"; and in 1900 Matthew and John, the latter trans-

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literated by Miss Noyes, passed through the press. The blocks for the Punti New Testament in Chinese character appear to have been prepared, but no further progress was reported up to 1904.

Genesis and Psalms in Hakka were issued in native character between 1886 and 1890, and a revision committee was formed. An edition of Isaiah (tentative) and Luke (revised) were published in 1897, the former in Chinese, the latter in Latin type.

The revised New Testament in the Ningpo Colloquial appeared in 1898. Meanwhile the translation of the Old Testament was in progress; in 1899 a version embodying the work of several translators and completed and harmonised by the Rev. J. R. Goddard (American Baptist Missionary Union) and his colleagues, was in the press; and the first copies of the Ningpo Bible appeared at the end of 1901.[1] About the same time the Committee undertook an edition of the Gospel of St John for the blind.

Here we may place two other vernaculars of the province of Chekiang. The Four Gospels and Acts in Wenchow, by the Rev. W. E. Soothill of the United Methodist Free Church Mission, were published at home in Roman character in 1894, and eight years later the remaining books were completed, the text was revised, and the Wenchow New Testament took its place on the Society's list. The Psalms in Taichow, by the Rev. W. D. Rudland (China Inland Mission), the senior missionary of the district, were printed in Latin character at his own press in 1893. Four years later the New Testament appeared. By 1904 a revision of these, with references, was ready for the press, and the first draft of the Pentateuch had been made.

A committee for the revision of the Amoy New Testament

[1] Five books (Deuteronomy–1 Samuel) had been translated by Miss Matilda Laurence of the Church Missionary Society; seven (2 Samuel–Ezra and Malachi) by the Rev. J. R. Goddard; and seven (Esther–Isaiah) by the Rev. E. C. Lord.

was appointed by the various Missions in 1885. The American Bible Society joined in the expense in 1889. Tentative editions of various books were issued for criticism, but in 1893 it was decided to await the publication of the Union Wenli versions. In 1898 a new edition of the Old Testament (completed in 1884) was decided upon; various reprints were issued as needed, and in 1902 the revised text was printed, and this led to a demand for a similar edition of the New Testament. Portions were prepared for the blind, St Matthew in 1888 and Ephesians in 1891.

A translation committee for the Swatow Colloquial was formed in 1888. A press and type (Roman) were provided by friends for the English Presbyterian Mission, and the Society undertook the supply of paper, the payment of printers and native scholars, and other expenses. Luke appeared without delay, Matthew and Acts in 1889, and the Four Gospels and Acts were printed at Glasgow for the Society in 1892. Other books of the Old and New Testaments appeared at intervals. By the beginning of 1904 the whole of the New Testament had been printed, except 1 Corinthians (in the press), Romans (revising in proof), and Hebrews (in course of translation).

The New Testament in Foochow Colloquial, it will be remembered, goes back to 1856. In 1886 the Gospel of St John transliterated by the Rev. R. W. Stewart (Church Missionary Society) was issued in Latin type and heartily welcomed, and while on furlough in 1889 he carried through the press 1000 New Testaments and 500 Gospels and Acts. On the 1st August 1895, at the mountain village of Hwasang, a few miles from Kucheng, Mr Stewart, his wife, two children and a nurse, and five Zenana lady-missionaries were massacred by a band of the sect called Vegetarians. On the previous day there had been a Bible-reading, and the meeting had closed with the solemn words of dedication: "Here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves,

our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee."[1]

Meanwhile in 1887 the British and Foreign and the American Bible Societies agreed to co-operate in the production of a revised Bible in Foochow Colloquial. A board of revision was appointed; certain Portions were printed separately as completed; and in 1891 the earliest Foochow Bible in one volume left the press. In 1897 an arrangement was made for its transliteration into Roman characters, and the New Testament, Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, Joshua, and Proverbs appeared before the close of the Centenary Year. In 1901 £20 was granted for an embossed edition of the Gospel of St Matthew for the blind.

On the very day the news of the Hwasang tragedy reached England, a letter from Mr Stewart was received at the Bible House, strongly urging the publication of a New Testament in the Colloquial of the great north-western prefecture of Kienning. It had been translated, with the help of native teachers, by Miss Bryer and other ladies of the Zenana Mission, and had been tested during their intercourse with native women. It was seen through the press by Miss B. Newcome, who was on furlough in Ireland, and funds were raised in Dublin to make it a memorial of the little company of martyrs at Hwasang. Genesis and Exodus by the same ladies appeared in 1900; and in that year appeared the Gospel of St Matthew in Kienyang by the Rev. H. S. and Mrs Phillips.

Many hindrances beset the Hainan version, undertaken by the Rev. C. Jeremiassen. A tentative edition of St Matthew was printed in 1886, but owing to differences of opinion it was not put in circulation till 1891, when it was found adapted to the needs of some of the people. The remaining Gospels were sanctioned in 1892, but an unfortunate

[1] Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. iii. p. 583.

misprint delayed their issue until 1894-95. Three years later Mr Jeremiassen returned to Europe with various books of the Old and New Testaments, and after protracted criticism and discussion with his fellow-missionaries, Genesis, Haggai–Malachi, Acts, Galatians–Philemon and James–Jude were published in 1899. On 2nd June in the latter year this able and zealous labourer died of typhoid while travelling in the island, in which for many years he had actively engaged in colportage while carrying on his regular mission work. In the absence of colporteurs in 1903 two Biblewomen worked in Hainan, and held the attention of the crowds in markets and villages "better than any male helper."

In the concluding year of our history the Gospel of St Matthew, translated by the Rev. S. R. Clarke (China Inland Mission), was issued in the speech of the Chung Chias, a people without alphabet or literature of their own, sprung from the ancient stock of the Shans and Siamese, and numbering perhaps a million in Kweichow province, with many more in Yunnan and Kwangsi.

During the twenty years, then, the Society had furthered the translation of the Word of God into eighteen of the languages of China. By the use of the simple Latin character, in which 60,000 copies in eleven vernaculars were published between 1890 and 1903, it had brought the Gospel within reach of multitudes of men and women to whom their own classics were sealed books.

From 1814 the Society's aggregate circulation of the Holy Scriptures in China has been calculated at 11,082,000 copies. Over 8,000,000 of these were distributed in the last twenty years, as against 3,000,000 in the preceding seventy. The circulation of the last decade (5,885,000) exceeded the aggregate of all preceding years (5,196,000) by considerably over 500,000 copies.

The expenditure grew from £6643 in 1884-85 to an

average of £12,413 in the last five years. The total outlay of the period was £179,374, and the receipts amounted to £17,598.

During these ninety years people had prayed for China, worked for China, hoped for China, died for China, almost despaired of China. What the future contained was hidden even from the eye of faith; but of the call for the Society in China what more need be said than that every fourth child born into the world looks up into the face of a Chinese mother?

CHAPTER LXVIII

"ADVANCE, JAPAN!"

FOR more than two years after Mr Taylor's resignation the Committee sought in vain for an efficient representative to fill the vacancy in Japan. Thanks, however, to the energy of the corresponding committee at Tokio and the good offices of the Scottish agent, no ground was lost. The number of colporteurs was increased; the issues advanced from 9280 copies in 1884 to 10,139 in 1885; and the Society bore its share in the publication of various new Portions of the Old Testament, of a pocket edition of the New at 25 *sen* (8½d.), and of a corrected edition of the Standard New Testament. Happily, at the beginning of 1886, Mr George Braithwaite, a son of Mr Bevan Braithwaite, one of the Society's Vice-Presidents, volunteered for service in the East, and the Committee gladly sent him out as a temporary assistant to Mr Fyson, the secretary of the corresponding committee.[1]

At that moment the opportunities for extension were unprecedented, and the absence of difficulties was unique. In addition to a wide-spread interest in the *Yeso kiyo Seisho* ("the holy book of the Jesus doctrine"), the impulse given to the study of English—now a part of the regular course in all the higher schools—occasioned so pressing a demand for the English New Testament, as the cheapest text-book of which there was a Japanese translation, that the whole

[1] On 15th February the Committee had a farewell interview with the Right Rev. Edward Bickersteth (eldest son of another Vice-President, the poet-bishop of Exeter), who had just been consecrated successor to the Right Rev. A. W. Poole, the first Bishop of the Church of England in Japan.

depôt stock of the popular editions was exhausted, and fresh supplies had to be ordered by telegram. These materially quickened the sale of the Japanese version, and in 1887, when forty colporteurs were abroad, though only four worked through the twelve months, the circulation rose to 16,822. In the summer Mr Braithwaite made his first tour among the Japanese congregations in Northern Hondo, and visited the island of Yezo, where he met the Rev. John Batchelor, of whose labours for the Ainus we shall speak presently. As the result of his journey colportage was begun at Akita and Honjo on the west coast of the main island, and further south, at Sakata and Tsurugaoka, two thriving Buddhist towns in which Christianity had yet secured no foothold.

On the 3rd February 1888—it was the year 2548 in Japanese chronology—a public meeting was held in Tokio to celebrate the completion of the Bible in one of the great tongues of the East. Dr Hepburn, the veteran translator, presided, and a thrill of emotion passed through the audience as he took the Old Testament in the one hand and the New Testament in the other, and laying them reverently together, said: "In the name of the whole body of Protestant missionaries in Japan, and of the whole Church of Christ in America and England, I make it a loving present to the Japanese nation." Eleven years had gone by since the Protestant missionaries convened on the 30th October 1876 "to take some action in regard to translating the Old Testament," and though "the difficulties had been great and the delays many," by a kind providence the two native scholars, the Rev. T. Natsuyama, afterwards pastor of the Hei-an church at Kioto, and Takahashi Goro, a brilliant and versatile man of letters, who had aided in the translation of the New Testament, were able to assist throughout in the translation of the Old, and to secure for both uniformity of style.

The event came on the crest of the wonderful wave of revival which started from Tokio in the preceding summer, and spread with such a pulse of life through the land that the very word "revival" was caught up into the language. Over 65,000 volumes were printed during the year—editions of the Old Testament, small Reference New Testament and Psalms, a cheap New Testament published conjointly with the two other Societies at ten *sen* (about 5d.), the Gospel of St John in raised type for the blind. The circulation of the agency leaped up to 37,703 copies, while the Scottish and American Bible Societies distributed between them over 111,000 more.

With that "crowning year," as we shall see, closed a period of steady advance in the history of Bible and mission work in Japan.[1] In the course of 1889 Mr Braithwaite was formally appointed agent; 28,000 small New Testament Portions in gay covers were published, and the first Reference Bible, a handsome volume furnished with maps, was issued at the expense of the British and Scottish Societies; but in the intense political and social excitement caused by the promulgation of the new constitution, the negotiation of treaties with the Western Powers, and the preparation for a Japanese parliament, progress was stayed, and the voice of the Gospel fell upon unheeding ears. A complete re-organisation of Bible work in the empire was carried out in the following year. To prevent friction and overlapping, and to save the large expense of independent establishments, a representative Bible Societies' Committee was appointed to control the management of affairs on behalf of the three Bible Societies, and the system, which lasted up to the Centenary, came

[1] In the five years up to 1889 the number of adult Evangelical Christians rose from 5000 to 29,000; in 1899, after ten years of pause and retarded progress, the number was only about 41,800 or perhaps 75,000, if baptized children and adherents were included.—Warneck, *Protestant Missions*, p. 313.

into operation on the 1st July 1890, with the senior agent Mr Loomis of the American Bible Society, in charge of the "House" at Yokohama, while the "Field," with its colportage and correspondents, was assigned to Mr Braithwaite, the secretary of the new committee, and Mr Annand of the National Bible Society of Scotland.[1]

Here we pause for a moment to add another version to the list of Bible tongues. As the traveller coasts Japan, the names of green cape and rocky foreland and sacred mountain bear witness to a remote past when the Ainu race were spread over the "Great Eight Islands." Long afterwards, when broken and driven into the north by the Japanese invasion, the routed tribes of these "shaggy men"[2] took refuge in Yezo, South Saghalien, and the Kurile Isles, leaving in the Ainu place-names of Japan the only legend of their ancient seats. A mere remnant, numbering between 16,000 and 20,000 souls, survived in Yezo when the Rev. John Batchelor of the Church Missionary Society spent several months at Piratori, their chief settlement, in 1881. They were a rude nature-folk, scarcely advanced beyond the use of stone—fishers, hunters, gatherers of edible sea-ware—who dwelt between the shore and the impenetrable forests of the interior, and worshipped sun and moon, tree and river, waterfall and mountain; for there was a glimmering of divine light in the dim, wild hearts of them; and when the hunting season was over and the fishing was ended, they chanted their farewell to Forest and Sea who mothered them; and Fire they revered as a pure goddess who saw and noted every deed among men, so that after death, if one denied his guilt before the judgment-seat, Fire came with a flame-picture of all his life, and the man stood self-condemned. Batchelor lived

[1] Subsequently Mr Braithwaite represented both British Societies.

[2] To the Chinese and Japanese the Ainus naturally appeared "shaggy," but the "hairy Ainus" of early travellers are not to be compared in this respect with European sailors.

and travelled among them. Sometimes in the winter there were three feet of ice and six feet of snow, and the roofs of their wretched huts were broken in. The wind blew out his candle, the ink froze in his pen before he could write down the words they taught him; but he mastered their language, found in it indeed fine turns of phrase—they spoke of a good man as "a man of God," a beautiful river as "a river of God," a tall tree, "a tree of God"—and began a translation of the Scriptures.

The first Ainu convert, the son of a village chief, was baptized on Christmas Day 1885; in December 1886 the first Ainu book, nine chapters of the Gospel of St Matthew, was printed in Roman characters at Tokio. The whole of St Matthew and the Book of Jonah appeared in 1889; and in 1891, during Mr Batchelor's furlough in England, the Society published the Gospels of St Mark, St Luke, and St John.[1] These too were in Roman type, and Japanese Christians were able to read them to the unlettered Ainus, who listened with delight, and spread abroad the marvels of the little volumes. "The words of that book," said a poor sick woman, more truly than she was perhaps aware, "can cure where medicine cannot touch"; could she but hear them she would surely arise healed.

Up to 1893 the Ainu Church consisted of nine members. In the first half of 1893, 171 believers were baptized, most of them people of Piratori, where "every woman had accepted Christ as her Saviour." "Just think," wrote Batchelor, "of old women over seventy years of age now for the first time in their lives praying—and praying to Jesus only!" In 1894, when Galatians–Philippians and James–Jude had been issued by the committee of the three Societies, 123 more received baptism, and in the next three years 260 adults, besides children. The Psalter was ready for circulation in

[1] His Ainu Dictionary, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments and a few hymns appear to have passed through the press about the same time

1896, and just before the end of 1897—eleven years from the publication of the opening chapters of St Matthew—the Ainu Testament was completed.

When the first Japanese parliament opened in November 1890, people noted with astonishment the growth of Christianity among the educated classes. In addition to several Christians in the House of Nobles, twelve of the three hundred representatives in the House of Commons were members of Protestant Churches, and from the three persons nominated for the office of Speaker, the Emperor selected a Christian. But the whirl of change which revolutionised the political and social conditions of the country produced a ferment of thought and feeling that deepened year after year; and as if in strange sympathy with the unrest of the nation, hurricanes and earthquakes, fires and floods, occurred in disastrous succession. A spirit of lawlessness and licence sprang up among the younger generation. The old conservatives ascribed the disorders of the time to the neglect of the ancestral religion, and to the pernicious influence of foreigners and the foreigners' Book, which threatened the foundations of the Empire. Racial hatred revived, and Christianity was branded as unpatriotic. To add to the confusion, while the Buddhists themselves spoke despondently of the future of their creed, agnostic literature and the theological controversies of the West shook the feeling of expectation with which so many had turned to the Scriptures: "We trusted that it had been He which should have redeemed Israel."

With unabated courage the triple committee pursued their work. An edition of the New Testament in Roman characters, issued by the American Bible Society in 1880, had been republished with revised transliteration in 1886; in 1892 the whole Bible in the most perfect text yet attained appeared in the same type. In the following year we have a glimpse of a number of the colporteurs — among them

Nagasawa, a veteran of seventy-five, the oldest on the staff; Muraki, who had sold the Scriptures for nearly fourteen years, cruelly persecuted at first, "but now nearly all my relations are Christians"; Shirakawa, who had met an aged man over eighty, for many years a Christian, and still the only Christian in the district in which he lived; Montegi, who told how on a sultry day in Tokio a stranger brought him a glass of chopped ice, but in a little while the people began to throw stones at him. Picking up two of the stones, "I am beholden to you for these," he said; "but to an old man's teeth they are hard. I do not know who threw these, or who brought me the ice, but my Heavenly Father knows!" and the people fell quiet and listened attentively till he had finished. These and their comrades bore steadfast testimony in the face of scornful opposition and stolid indifference. Then, too, the Scripture Union, whose origin we noted in 1883, had grown into a strenuous evangelistic force. Of its 13,000 members, the greater number belonged to Christian congregations, but many were still inquirers, scattered in country towns and villages, sometimes all alone, at others drawn into little groups of readers who would one day become churches. Beginning with the station-masters, the Bible work of the Union was extending to the 30,000 railway employees, to the post-offices and the telegraph system, and an appeal had been made to the medical men of England and America for funds to distribute the Bible to all the medical men in Japan, some 40,000 in number.

Suddenly in 1894-95 the terrible war with China changed the whole aspect of things, and gave an impulse to Bible-work far beyond the most sanguine dreams of its promoters. Permission was readily granted for unrestricted distribution of the Scriptures in all the garrisons and hospitals throughout Japan, and the Vice-Minister of War gave the agent letters which insured the hearty co-operation of the Commanders of Divisions. The Bible House was burnt

down through the fall of a lamp during a shock of earthquake on the 2nd August, but large editions of a miniature Gospel of St John—"the Soldiers' St John"—and the smallest of New Testaments were rapidly printed, and the Word of God, which a year ago was a forbidden book in the military barracks, was given away in thousands to the troops and the fleet at Yokosaka and Hiroshima, and afterwards to the prisoners of war and the sick and wounded in hospital. Many Japanese converts were called to the colours, and fidelity and fortitude and more than one heroic death on the field proved the patriotism of the Christian. There was providentially a supply of the Chino-Japanese Testament, and these books were gratefully received by the Chinese prisoners of war who, looking forward to torture and execution, found with amazement that they were treated with all the skill and care bestowed on the Japanese themselves.[1]

Over 141,000 copies were thus distributed by the committee in Japan, and in an interview with the "field-agent," the Commander-in-Chief, Prince Komatsu, a cousin of the Emperor, warmly expressed his thanks to the Societies for the interest they had taken in the forces of the Empire. What came of so wide a sowing of the seed? Little indeed is known, but that little is significant. In the furious hurricane of 27th July 1895 a military train was blown off a sea-wall, and 140 lives were lost. When the kits of the dead soldiers were taken out of the water a "war Portion" was found in nearly every one of them. During the war a "Soldiers' St John" was thrown from a passing train into an open window in the village of Suzukawa, in the province of Shizuoka. That small volume of God's Word, so little valued, was the means of converting the occupant of the house and all his family.

[1] One gracious figure is noticeable among the sisterhood of the Red Cross—the widow of Dr Niisima, who had charge of thirty of the nurses. Niisima, that happy "seeker after God," had died 23rd January 1890. All classes attended his funeral, and a banner was sent even by the Buddhists of Osaka.

Flushed with victory, Japan entered on a swift and brilliant career of political and commercial development. The distraction of trade, the hurry of large projects, the pressure of competition, and the struggle for material prosperity gave little hope for spiritual progress; still, like divining rods, the yearly statistics of the committee told of the flow of living waters beneath the surface of this excited life. With marvellous celerity the influence of Japanese prestige and Japanese ideals pervaded China and Korea, made itself felt even in Siam and the Philippines, and the evangelisation of the Island Empire grew big with unforeseen issues, for the whole trend and import of events left no doubt that henceforth work in Japan would be work for all Eastern Asia. As though some presage of this leagued for aggression the opponents of the Christian faith, Buddhists, Shintoists, and other sects combined in mass meetings held all over the country to ridicule the Bible and denounce its teachings as false and depraved. School teachers did their best to prevent the children from attending Sunday schools and Christian services, and for a time the restrictions imposed on Christian schools by the Education Department added to the difficulties of the situation.

In 1898 the circulation fell to 44,785 copies, the lowest figure since 1893. But the year was one of happy augury. The New Testament for the blind (estimated at 150,000) was in circulation; the Society on its own account added five to the large sisterhood of Biblewomen already employed by other agencies; the joint committee started a system of book-shops in which the Word of God should everywhere be brought within reach and knowledge of the people. More significant still as "signs of the times," a Christian Printing Company was established in Yokohama, and openly printed the Scriptures which thirty years ago, at risk of life itself, were passed through the press in secrecy and delivered

under cover of night;[1] a chaplain was appointed to the large prison at Tokio; the military hospital at Osaka, formerly closed to the evangelist, was opened to free visitation; finally the Emperor graciously accepted, not only an English Bible presented in the name of the three Societies, but a copy of the Japanese version (the handsome family edition which had just left the press), and thus gave an unprecedented emphasis to the fact that the sacred volume was no longer forbidden in the Land of the Rising Sun. The frank and clear-sighted liberalism of the Emperor rebuked the arrogant challenge of the "patriot" extremists; "Is it possible to reconcile Christianity with the Japanese Constitution, to recognise any other than the Sovereign as the supreme ruler of all things? Do the Christians propose to regard Jesus as the faithful subject of the Emperor, or to bring the Emperor under the dominion of Jesus, so that he is to pray, 'Jesus, Thou Son of God, have mercy on me'?"[2]

With 1898, indeed, a decade of chequered experiences, of sharp antagonism, and doubtless of salutary trial, was completed, and more favourable conditions had set in when, to the deep regret of the Committee, Mr Braithwaite resigned his post in the spring of 1899, after thirteen years spent in furthering the great work which upheld and united all the forces of Evangelical Christianity in Japan. For how much those combined efforts counted in the transformation of the Mikado's Empire we need not inquire, but in this place some reference may fitly be made to the historic survey presented to the General Missionary Conference at Tokio in October 1900.

Between 1884 and 1898 the population had increased from 37,500,000 to 43,750,000, and in the latter year 4,000,000 of children attended the primary schools. No fewer than 150

[1] A year or two later the Yokohama Bunsha was executing orders for the agencies in China, and Japanese compositors were producing excellent editions in Chinese, Tibetan, Korean, and two dialects of the Philippines.

[2] Warneck, *Protestant Missions*, p. 303.

daily newspapers were published, besides 745 periodicals, of which 85, including parish magazines, were registered as Christian. The translations of English books included numerous Bible commentaries, five *Lives of Christ*, various modern works on theology, such as Dale's *Atonement* and Gore's *Incarnation*, and many devotional writers from Thomas à Kempis to Andrew Murray. Thirty-seven Protestant Missionary Societies, represented by 692 male and female missionaries, were at work; and the Church of Rome had in the field 1 archbishop, 3 bishops, 106 European missionaries, 26 Japanese priests, and about 50 monks and 120 nuns. Of the total number of Christians, 41,808 were Protestants, 25,231 belonged to the Greek Church, and 53,924 were Roman Catholics. Including children and adherents, the whole Christian community was something less than a quarter of a million, or ½ per cent. of the native population. Its influence and prestige, however, were out of all proportion to its numbers. It furnished the nation with one Cabinet Minister, two Justices of the Supreme Court, two Speakers of the Lower House, two or three Vice-Ministers of State, to say nothing of heads of Bureaux and Judges of Courts of Appeal. Many officers in the Army and Navy were Christians, and three of the great dailies of Tokio were largely in the hands of Christian men.[1] It was only two-and-thirty years since the European, wherever he was permitted to land, was confronted with the blasphemous edict:—

"So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the great God of all, if he violates this command, shall pay for it with his head."

Mr Braithwaite's place as joint agent of the British and Scottish Societies was filled in the autumn of 1899 by the appointment of Mr F. Parrott, and during the concluding

[1] *The Tokio Missionary Conference*, 1900, p. 75.

years of this history Bible-work expanded under conditions of ever-widening privilege and blessing. European co-operation was enlarged by the revision of the Treaties which opened the interior to foreign trade and intercourse; the restrictions on religious education were abrogated; Chinese literature was withdrawn from the curriculum of intermediate schools, a measure which implied the substitution of a new basis of ethics and philosophy for the wisdom of the ancient classics; Christianity itself received official recognition and a status in the Empire in which it had hitherto existed on sufferance.

The distribution of the three Societies rose from 73,000 copies in 1899 to 118,000 in 1900, and the annual circulation of the last four years of the period averaged 165,000. The Rev. S. S. Snyder, a missionary of the American Reformed Church, gave a brilliant example of the possibilities of colportage by the sale of 184,795 Bibles, Testaments and Portions in three years. Mr A. Lawrence, who had gained his experience in Cambodia and who afterwards became a sub-agent, worked on a similar scale; sold by lantern light in the streets of Niigata; sold at the great temple festival at Kioto, the Rome of Buddhism; sold to the pilgrims as they came down with jingling bells from Fuji-san (far-travelled worshippers, in round bamboo hats, and white garments stamped with the outline of the sacred mountain and the name of the mountain god), sold on the mountain at the rest-houses above the grassy moorland and the belt of forest, toiled up the zigzags among the lava blocks and volcanic ashes, and sold on the summit to the crowds around the great bell and the sacred shrines. Native colportage still left much to be desired, but before the close the *Seisho uri* (Bible-seller) attained a yearly sale of 62,000 copies. The veteran Nagasawa, who had served for a quarter of a century and was now over eighty-three, eked out the feeble appeal of age with tiny manuscript booklets, "which said all that

he would say if his voice were stronger." The number of the Society's Biblewomen was increased to twenty-six, who worked under missionary supervision. The Churches adopted a regular Bible Sunday, and the native congregations began to recognise their obligations to the Bible Societies.

The time had its shadows. Loss and a great sorrow fell on Mr Parrott, and in March 1902 most of the depôt stock and a mass of documents were destroyed by fire; but as the result of this last misfortune 45,000 volumes bought by the Tokio booksellers at a salvage sale passed rapidly into circulation.

For five months in 1903 the magnificent National Exhibition at Osaka presented exceptional opportunities for Bible and Mission work. Mr Lawrence and his assistants sold 14,420 copies of Scripture, and 1670 religious meetings attracted 246,000 visitors of all ranks and from all parts of the Empire. In the autumn we have a last glimpse of Yezo, now better known under its later name Hokkaido. The island was losing its wild Ainu aspect. Large numbers of Japanese were settling on the land; the towns were prospering, and there was a good demand for the Word of God, which the people purchased readily.

With the close of 1903 the arrangement for the joint action of the three Societies came to an end, and the Bible Societies' Committee for Japan worked in two sections. The plan had proved successful, and its discontinuance was due to the new adjustments required to meet altered conditions. The north-east part of the Japanese dominions was assigned to the American Bible Society, which was to retain its headquarters at Yokohama. The British and Scottish Societies in conjunction undertook the south-west part of the Empire, with Mr Parrott as their representative at Kobè. Each agent was to be governed by the old rules, and the same price list was to hold good for the three Societies.

During the fourteen years of combined work (1890-1903)

the Bible Societies' Committee circulated 1,505,664 copies of Scripture. Of these 237,440 were distributed gratis; 350,640 were purchased for gratis distribution by the Scripture Union and other evangelical agencies; and 917,584 were sold from the depôt, by colportage, and through correspondents, booksellers, and others. The total receipts amounted to 85,866 *yen*, £8943. Prior to the union, from 1884 to 1890, the Society distributed over 160,000 copies.

From 1884 to the close the Society's expenditure was £19,468, in which was included—£5890, maintenance of the joint committee; £2243, colportage; £984, Biblewomen; £596, the Japanese version.[1] The receipts amounted to £4040.

The aggregate of Scriptures circulated, jointly or separately, by the three Societies from 1874 onward fell little short of 2,750,000 copies.[2]

Such was the appeal of Christendom; was the ultimate response of Japan foreshadowed by some of her leading statesmen? "We must have religion," said Baron Mayejima, ex-Cabinet Minister, at the tenth anniversary of the Young Men's Christian Association in Tokio, "as the basis of our national and personal welfare. No matter how large an army or navy we may have, unless we have righteousness as the foundation of our national existence, we shall fall far short of the highest success. And when I look about me to see what religion we may best rely upon, I am convinced that the religion of Christ is the one most full of strength and promise for the nation." "You may think the Bible antiquated, out of date," said Count Okuma, sometime Prime Minister, to a gathering of young men. "The words it contains may so appear, but the noble Life which it holds up to admiration is something that will never be out of date, however much the world may progress."

[1] Including earlier payments, £1515 was spent by the Society on the Japanese version.

[2] The tables show a total of 2,585,846 copies, but the Scottish figures for three years and the British for half a year were not available when the returns were compiled.

As the menace of war with Russia grew darker, Mr Parrott obtained leave from the Ministry to distribute Scriptures among the soldiers massing for the front. Special miniature editions of 200,000 Japanese Gospels and 1500 Testaments were at once prepared, and inscriptions stating that they were the gift of the Scottish and British Societies insured them a friendly reception. Again and again in the gigantic struggle the Christian proved himself "patriot" and hero. The first victory, the sea-fight of Chemulpo, was won by a Christian, Rear-Admiral Uryu, a member and for some time an elder of a Presbyterian church at Tokio, and a classmate at the Military Academy of Annapolis of the distinguished Christian Admiral, Serata. After the terrible night of 3rd May 1904, when the third attempt was made to seal up Port Arthur, one of the forlorn hopes whose remains were saved from the sea was the warrant officer Shikanosuke Kageyama, who had gone to certain death in the Otaru Maru. In his breast-pocket was found a booklet soaked with salt water and blood. It was the Gospel of St John, one of the copies distributed by the late Miss MacLean of the Christian Japanese Institute to the officers and crew who took out to Japan the new battleship *Mikasa*.[1] The little volume was deemed too precious to be buried with him, and it was returned to the lady with an account of the gallant death of its owner.

And what marvellous new note is this which reaches the ear through "the thunder of the captains and the shouting"? A young lieutenant of engineers wrote to the church to which he belonged "of *the sense of brotherhood* awakened in him as he marched through a Korean town one Sunday morning and saw the Christians assembled in church with their Testaments and hymn-books."

[1] Many hundreds of Testaments and Gospels, voted as free gifts by the Committee or supplied at a nominal cost, were distributed by Miss MacLean among her beloved Japanese sailors and man-of-war's men in the Port of London. Her services won the admiration of the Emperor himself, who conferred on her probably the first Japanese decoration bestowed on a foreign lady.

CHAPTER LXIX

THE LAND OF CHOSEN

BIBLE-WORK in Korea began, as we have seen, with the Scottish missionaries at Newchwang. Beyond the decayed Palisades and the wide strip of neutral ground on the east stretched the peninsula of Chosen, the "Morning Calm," 600 miles from north to south, 140 from sea to sea. A fertile, mountainous, well-nigh roadless country, in which ponies, bulls, and carriers were the only means of transport. The reigning house of Tsi-tsien dated from the distant time when Wycliffe and Chaucer were moulding the English language. Under its founder the Buddhism of ten centuries was disestablished. Ancestor-worship and the ethics of Confucius had been adopted by the upper classes; but Buddhist shrines and monasteries were still numerous in the mountains, and a species of Shamanism was practised by the great mass of the population. Their superstition was writ large in groups of *mirioks* (stones water-worn to uncanny human shapes), trees hung with sacrificial shreds and patches, tall posts with tasselled ropes of straw stretched across the way to keep out evil spirits. The *mu-tang*, or sorceress, with her drums and cymbals, was a wicked power in the land, but otherwise woman had no status. She had not even a personal name. She was "the wife of Kim," "the mother of Sim," and her husband called her "Ya-bu" ("Look here!")

Strangers were excluded by the law of the land. Under the great bell of Seoul a stone bore an inscription calling

on all Koreans to slay the intruding foreigner; Christianity had long been penalised;[1] the distribution of Christian books was forbidden under peril of decapitation. Shortly after settling at Newchwang, the Rev. John Ross of the United Presbyterian Church Mission attended one of the crowded fairs at the Korean Gate, an ancient opening in the dilapidated barrier where at fixed seasons the two peoples were allowed to trade, and presented a copy of the Chinese Testament to a minor Korean mandarin. The book was read by his son and by a friend who had borrowed it, and these two became the first messengers of the Gospel to their own countrymen. They sought out the missionaries at Newchwang, and while assisting Mr Ross in the first Korean version had all their doubts removed, and received baptism.

The difficulties of translation were succeeded by the crux of publication. There was no Korean type in existence, though in the art of printing with separate letters Gutenburg had been anticipated in Chosen by a quarter of a century;[2] for, unlike the Chinese, the Koreans had an alphabet, and their system of fourteen consonants and eleven vowels, derived, it would appear, from some primitive Tibetan or Pali form, had doubtless been introduced by the old-world Buddhist teachers.[3] With the assistance of the Scottish Bible Society and of friends who provided a press and books on type-casting and printing, the problem was

[1] Seng-houn-i, one of the Korean ambassadors to China, inquired into Christianity at the request of his friend, the philosopher Ni Tek-tso. He was converted and baptized at one of the four Roman Catholic churches at Peking, and returned to Korea with Christian books in 1784. The new faith spread. December 23rd, 1794, the first Romish missionary, a Chinese priest, entered Korea "clandestinely at midnight." The native who assisted him paid with his life, but in spite of the vigilance of the authorities other priests made their way into the country. There was severe persecution in 1801, 1815, and 1827. In 1834 Pope Gregory XVI. appointed a Vicar Apostolic, and repeated attempts were made to secure a footing. Persecution broke out afresh in 1800: and in 1866, when the French missionaries were killed and the MSS. of their linguistic and literary labours destroyed, the last Europeans were expelled. The French expedition of that year failed, the cause was ruined, and many native Christians were put to death.—Dallet, *Histoire de L'Eglise de Corée.*

[2] *The Athenæum*, 18th March 1882.

[3] Taylor, *The Alphabet*, vol. ii. p. 348.

solved; St Luke and St John were printed in 1882, and hundreds of copies were conveyed, not without serious personal risk, by converts and friends into the forbidden kingdom. These early Gospels had been rendered in the western dialect. They were now recast in the language of the capital; Matthew, Mark and the Acts were added; and in 1883, with the consent of the Scottish Bible Society, the Committee undertook the publication of the New Testament. About the same time Tsui, or So, the first Korean convert and assistant translator, was sent out as the Society's first Korean colporteur; 12,000 volumes, chiefly the Four Gospels and Acts, were issued in 1883; and in 1884—just as the treaty with Great Britain conceded the right of residence and mission work began—Korea was included in the newly formed North China Agency under Mr Bryant.

The Korean Government had reserved absolute authority in regard to the introduction of books and all printed matter, but already the Scriptures had been widely distributed; and although the educated affected to despise their phonetic alphabet the Word of Life in the common speech of the country was read by men and especially by women "with the avidity of people hungering after truth." Converts became teachers, and drew together groups of believers. In more than one city preaching-places were opened by them, and among the Korean hills hundreds were reported to be awaiting baptism. Still the prohibition of Christian books and the scarcity of qualified men seriously restricted the development of colportage. With the influx of missionaries more progress was made; and as Protestantism became better known the fear of the Bible gradually disappeared, and the mission schools met with the favour of the King and the patronage of the Government.

In 1887 the complete Korean Testament left the press, and when Mr Bryant retired at the beginning of 1892 the Society's issue of the version amounted to 78,000 volumes,

and six colporteurs were in the field, with a distribution of 8832 copies for the year.

Special reference has been made to the Korean Scriptures, but the circulation was not confined to the mother-tongue, any more than the mother-tongue was confined to Korea. There were many Koreans on the Manchurian side of the border; they still peopled the northern valleys of the Age-long White Mountain, whose summit, blanched with powdered pumice stone, shone over magnificent woods and slopes of waist-deep grass and tiger-lilies. The language and classics of China were the substance of Korean education, and thousands of Chinese—settlers, traders, fur-hunters, lumbermen, charcoal-burners, miners—dwelt along the River of the Green Duck, the Yalu, and within the zone of the pine-forests. The colporteur went everywhere and to all.

Of the results of these labours little was recorded; but in one long tour with his colporteurs, Mr Turley, the Manchurian sub-agent, who had taken charge at Chemulpo, the port of Seoul, in 1892, met 600 Koreans, the heads of families in whose homes idol-worship and fetichism had disappeared and Christ Jesus was Lord. Ignorant, no doubt, these believers were, but their faith was the beautiful faith of childhood. Some thought that the Master was still on earth, and said, "Let us go forth on pilgrimage to find Him." Others pleaded for baptism. Others again, from districts where no missionary had ever been, came 300 miles on foot to beg for teachers whom they promised to support.

In 1890 a committee was formed, with the hearty concurrence of Mr Ross, for the revision of the Korean New Testament. The subject, however, gave rise to such differences of opinion that in 1893 a thorough inquiry was made on behalf of the Society, with the result that the missionaries assembled in Seoul, acknowledged the debt of gratitude they owed to the version, but declared unanimously in favour of a new translation on the lines laid down at the Shanghai

Conference. A permanent Bible committee with a board of translators was appointed, and the three Bible Societies assumed the cost of the undertaking, the American and the British and Foreign dividing four-fifths of it between them, and the Scottish providing for the rest.

Amidst the dangers and anxieties of 1894, while the Japanese swept through the peninsula and across the Manchurian border, the staff and property of the Society were preserved from harm. In 1895, pursuant to the new scheme of organisation, Mr Kenmure arrived at Chemulpo; and in the report of 1896, Korea, which had been freed from the immemorial suzerainty of China, appeared for the first time as an independent agency.

During the next eight years the Bible cause went from strength to strength. The progress of the new version was watched with deep interest and some impatience by the native Christians; Portions were printed as they received the last touch of the revisers, and 192,000 of these had left the press when the complete New Testament was published in July 1900. The event was commemorated on the 9th September at Pyeng-yang, the ancient capital, when 800 persons, including representatives of nearly all the Korean Missions, attended the service of thanksgiving, and the United States Minister presented copies of the volume to the translators and their native assistants in the name of the three Societies. Books of the Old Testament had been allocated for translation in 1898, and the Psalter was finished in 1900,[1] but up to the Centenary the principal work of the board was the revision of the New Testament and consideration of a proposed "mixed script," combining the Chinese syllabary with the native *Un-mun*.[2]

Several depôts were opened, one in the capital not far

[1] In June 1902 the Rev. H. G. Appenzeller and his Korean assistant Cho, who had sat with the board for several years, were drowned in a collision at sea while on their way to a session of the translators.

[2] The publication of the Scriptures in *Un-mun* has so raised it in the estimation of the Koreans that they have changed the name, "Dirty-script," to *Kuk-mun*, "National-script."

from the site of the stone which cried for the blood of the foreigner and the great bronze bell which for five centuries had nightly closed the eight gates, and shut out the innumerable dead on the hill-sides round Seoul. The circulation grew from 3000 in 1896 to an average of 31,600 in the final quinquennium. In 1896 there was one Biblewoman, who distributed 260 copies; in 1903 there were twenty-one, and they distributed 3896 copies. They had received names in baptism; and Hannah, Dorcas, Susanna, Juliet, Cordelia travelled with their bundles of books from village to village, in circuits sometimes of 150 miles. They were "not always up to our ideals," but they forded streams, climbed mountains, fared hard, pressed on, weary and footsore, "thinking how His feet were pierced with nails." For the most part they were treated with respect; not always. They found many listeners at funerals, weddings, birthday feasts, sacrificial holidays at the graves of the dead and at heathen shrines; read the Word of Life to thousands yearly; freed poor souls "possessed by demons"; dispelled the malign influence of the wizard and the sorceress. They went where men could never have gone, and accomplished what men could not have attempted.

The number of colporteurs increased from six to fifty-one. Two Europeans joined the staff in 1898, and these extended the range of distribution as far south as the pine-clad Isle of Quelpart, and northward beyond the Tumen to the Korean settlers in Siberia. But the men of Chosen worked fearlessly in all directions, in seaports and inland cities, among the clustered islands in the Yellow Sea, in the Diamond Mountains sprinkled with Buddhist shrines and convents, along the east coast, the least kindly part of the country. Of the eighty Protestant missionaries in Korea at the beginning of 1903,[1] there were few who could not, and did not,

[1] Including wives, there were 176 missionaries, connected with eleven missionary societies.

acknowledge that from seven to nine tenths of their success was due to the colporteurs—a fact which increased their own share in colportage and emphasised the importance of version work.

It was wonderful how the seed was sown, and sprang up —the blade, the ear, the full corn in the ear. At Song Chi Tong, fifty miles up the Chunchu River, a colporteur was roughly driven away, but as he left, one man quietly bought a book and asked him to come back again. When he returned, all was changed; the people were friendly; a number begged for instruction. Among the first to accept the Gospel were a man and his wife, who took their idols out into the street and burned them. Even as the Maltese watched St Paul after he had shaken the viper into the fire, these villagers waited for the wrath of the evil spirits. On the very next day, strangely enough, the man's child sickened and lay for several days between life and death. But the man and his wife prayed to their newly-found Saviour, and the little one was not taken from them. The spell of superstition was broken, and within the year Song Chi Tong had its congregation of forty believers.

Returning by sea from Chemulpo, Kim Ung-su, a man of means and authority, was driven by storm to the Island of Kang Wha. That night he saw in a dream a stranger, clothed not in white but in black, and his hair was cut short and not gathered in a knot as Koreans wear it; and the stranger approached him and offered him a book. All next day the storm raged, and in the evening other travellers took refuge at the inn; among them Ye Kun-san, the colporteur, and when he had finished his meal he unpacked his Scriptures in the crowded room, and began to tell the story of the Saviour. Then Kim saw with amazement that this was the stranger of his dream; but Ye, with the books in his hand, came to him and offered him the New Testament. "It is a dream from God," said Ye, when Kim had

spoken; "surely I am the man you saw, and God's Holy Spirit has sent me to tell you of Christ and bring you this book." Then Kim took the colporteur to his home, a village fifteen miles from Wai-ju, and several families, when they had heard the Gospel preached, decided for Christ, and a great fire was made of the fetiches and ancestral tablets, and Kim bought a watch for the village so that they might join in worship at the same hour as the other believers in Korea. A school was opened, and an evangelist, maintained at Kim's expense, was sent to be teacher and a sort of pastor. In the autumn of 1901, the first missionary that came found all the families in the village Christian, baptized Kim and twenty of his neighbours, and received many probationers into the Church.

In the Island of Paik Yun a Testament taken into exile by a banished man awakened a spirit of inquiry among the islanders. A messenger was sent to the Sorai Church for a teacher. Elder So — our old pioneer colporteur Tsui— visited the place and taught the people, and between thirty and forty were baptized, though, strange to say, the banished man was not among them.

These mysteriously gathered congregations were burning with apostolic fire. They sent out men at their own charges to declare the story of Christ's love to all the villages around; every chapel became a depôt of the Holy Scriptures; and in several instances the Churches lightened the burden of the Societies by undertaking the support of colporteurs. The first Bible Sunday was observed in May 1899; the editors of three out of the five vernacular papers in Seoul gave their aid, and Bible Sunday became a festival of the Christian year. A more significant event was the first service held on the 28th December 1902 in the Kam Ok Sa, or city prison of Seoul, in which the Korean Tract Society and the Bible Society were permitted to found a library.

In the midst of the social and material changes with which commerce, financial enterprises, and high politics were transforming the Empire of the Morning Calm, we may note two that derived from another influence than these. Twice a year at Sorai the villagers were wont to make special offerings at the heathen shrine under the trees, and pray to the spirit of the place: "O give us life and blessing and riches; keep us from loss by fire and flood, and pestilence, and officials, and robbers, and tigers. Be it even so!" And year by year over £60 was wrung from their poverty and spent in sacrifices; but Sorai was ever as poor and squalid as any village in Hwangai province—its men drunken and dissolute, its women and children hungry and cold. To-day it is the wonder of the country-side. There is a pretty chapel among the trees in place of the shrine. On an eastern slope stands a handsome church, built and endowed by the people, and a school and library. All is neat and clean. Glass has taken the place of paper in the windows. Every homestead seems to have its sleek ox. American ploughs are in the furrows. "No," says Elder So to the agent, who has made Sorai his head-quarters for a month; "you owe us nothing; you are the guests of the Church. We cannot yet support a foreign missionary, but we entertain any missionary who is good enough to visit us."

There is great rejoicing in Seoul — waving flags, the lights of coloured lanterns, crowds listening to patriotic speeches. It is the Emperor's birthday. "Through all the five centuries of our royal dynasty," says one orator, "who ever heard of a patriotic meeting, with prayers and speeches and singing and praise of our native land? What has taught us to love our country and to learn the meaning of patriotism? It is the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

As the period closed new arrangements were completed for larger activity. In the Centenary Year a Bible

Committee, composed of representatives of the Missionary Societies, was appointed, under a carefully drawn constitution, to co-operate with Mr Kenmure, as joint-agent of the three Bible Societies, in the management and extension of Bible-work in Korea.[1] At that moment the forces of Russia and Japan were massing in the two peninsulas for the mastery of the East.

During the twenty years from 1884 the Society printed 313,500 copies of the Korean Scriptures, and of these 21,481 were New Testaments. The expenditure from 1896, under the independent agency, amounted to £10,126, and the receipts to £964.

[1] Mr Hugh Miller, who had joined the staff as assistant in 1902, was appointed sub-agent. In 1905, when Mr Kenmure left Korea in broken health, he succeeded him as agent.

CHAPTER LXX

IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

In the following pages we survey the Society's work in the wide mission-field which extends over eighty degrees of coral-clustered ocean between Pitcairn Island and Torres Straits.

Mr Green returned to Tahiti in July 1884, and a month or two later a consignment of the new edition of the Bible was landed. Copies were presented to Ariiaue, the last of Pomare's royal line, and to the French Governor. The people welcomed the books with an enthusiasm which recalled the joyous reception of their first Bible. "I have natives here," wrote Mr Green, "waiting to purchase at five o'clock in the morning, so eager has been the desire for the Word." Of the forty cases (4000 volumes), twenty-one were sold within a week; the supplies sent over to the neighbouring islands were unequal to the demand, and an urgent request was made for another large shipment.

After twenty-five years' service Mr Green — the last L.M.S. missionary in Tahiti—sailed for England in failing health in the summer of 1886, and the spiritual charge of the island passed to his French colleague, Pastor Vernier, of whom we caught a glimpse at the marriage of King Ariiaue. In 1888 the French carried into effect the annexation of Raiatea, Huahine, and Porapora, and in the time of irreconcilable opposition which followed, the splendid work of the London Missionary Society was brought to a close.

The Rev. E. V. Cooper of Huahine was its only remaining representative in the islands, and in 1890 he and Pastor Vernier made the round of the stations to arrange for the transfer of the mission and its buildings to the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society. Ninety-three years had gone by since the *Duff* left the pioneers of 1797 on the savage and dangerous shores of Tahiti. Among these pioneers was the Rev. William Henry, and by a strange coincidence his great-grand-daughter was Mr Cooper's wife. Thenceforth the agency of the Society was French.

In 1897 the churches in Tahiti celebrated the centenary of the landing of the missionaries at Papeete, and right through the remaining years of the period the devoted Pastor Vernier kept the islands in touch with the Bible House. The supply of Tahitian Scriptures, with occasional grants in French and English, was steadily maintained. In Raiatea, in Huahine, and far away in the outer seas, among the Paumotus and the Austral Isles, the native clergy and their congregations clung to the Word of God, and that fountain of truth preserved them from the influence of Romanism.

During the twenty years 18,000 copies of the Bible were printed, and the Society's total issue of the Tahitian Scriptures onward from 1818, when canoes came in fleets to Eimeo with canes of cocoa-nut oil to pay for "the Word of Luke," was 60,600 volumes. From 1884 to the withdrawal of the L.M.S. missionaries £405 was received in payment, and subsequently at least £600 was remitted through Pastor Vernier.

The Committee were anxious that the one book of the Hervey Islanders should be made "a perfect image of what its divine Author intended." The Rev. W. Wyatt Gill undertook the preparation of a standard edition of the Raratongan Bible at Sydney in 1884, and with the assistance of Taunga, who for forty years and more had been a faithful

preacher of the Gospel, the revision was completed in 1886. In a large measure the text reverted to the original translation of Williams, Pitman and Buzacott, who, whatever the blemishes and imperfections of their work, had caught the real genius of the language, and—marvellous testimony to the universality of the Word of God—had found it possible to render faithfully into a savage tongue, with an alphabet of thirteen letters, the flower of the world's literature. Early in 1887 Mr Gill came to England to see the stereotyped editions through the press; and in April the following year the printing was finished, and he returned to Australia with the first consignment and with 50 Chinese Testaments for settlers in the group. Strangely enough, he had sailed for the South Seas in the old *John Williams* when Mr Buzacott took out the first Raratongan Bible in 1851, so that his missionary life began and ended with the version.

The dread of annexation to France which had long overshadowed the Hervey group was averted a month later by the proclamation of a British protectorate. In 1891 we read: "The Bible is still *the* Book of the Raratongans. Passing along the road one sometimes sees the old people sitting outside their cottages, enjoying the warmth of the setting sun, and reading diligently the Sacred Word. Many of them read the daily chapter in connection with the Bible and Prayer Union. As regards the older church members, they would sooner part with houses or land than be deprived of their Bible." Many of them doubtless remembered that scene of wild joy, when the first Bible was landed through the surf on the reef, and the shore rang with the rude song in their own tongue—

> "The Word has come,
> One volume complete!"

In 1892 a grant of 300 English Testaments was despatched to Mangaia for the lads whom Mr Harris was training, some to become evangelists in New Guinea, others to be of service

to the Government. Then, a year or two later, a small-sized edition without references—a school Bible for the children, a pocket Bible for the people—was printed, and the first 2000 copies were warmly acknowledged in the summer of 1895: "Never did we feel so thankful as we do now that the natives have the Word of God translated into their own tongue. We have Roman Catholic priests here, and some Sisters will soon be sent. Seventh-Day Adventists have also begun a medical mission, and now the Mormons are endeavouring to establish themselves. These are testing times for our people." Yet another consignment was called for in 1902. During the twenty years 9097 Bibles left the press, and the total issue of Raratongan Scriptures amounted to 35,000 volumes. Shortly before the Centenary the number of Christians in the Hervey group, the palm-shadowed coral-rings of Manihiki, and the small green island of Niué was estimated at about 9000.

But Niué had its own Bible story. The Pentateuch, which contained three books that were new to the islanders, was hailed with delight, and the rapid sale of the New Testament and Psalter showed how experience had deepened their love of the familiar Scriptures. In 1887 died an aged Christian whose name stood first in the church book of Niué —old Jeremiah, who had helped to protect John Williams on his visit to Savage Island in 1830, and befriended Paulo, the first teacher. As his time drew nigh he chose for his burial a beautiful spot on the top of a hill overlooking the sea, and there he was laid to rest in a grave surrounded with flowers. It was the place on which Paulo first preached the Gospel in his village.

Helped and encouraged by his wife, and greatly assisted in his linguistic difficulties by Fataaiki the King, who had once been a teacher, Mr F. E. Lawes continued from year to year the baffling task of translation. Returning on furlough in 1892, he brought with him the fruit of ten years' labour;

and in September the following year he read the last proof of a version which needed but six books—Chronicles, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon—to complete the Niué Bible. When the edition reached the island (with a special copy for "that singularly useful king"), there was quite "a rush for books." One lame and feeble old man went five miles to secure a copy with his own hand; another on his death-bed sent all the money he had that he might read of the wonderful works of God before he saw His face. The dearest volumes were sold first, for the islanders loved to have their Scriptures in the beauty of morocco and gold, and readily paid the full cost of printing and binding. Niué was still in the barter stage, money was scarce, and the prices of cotton and other produce had fallen, but the first large consignment was soon exhausted, and another 1000 copies were ordered.

At last, in 1903—forty-two years after the publication of St Mark, the first Niué Gospel—Mr Lawes brought home the remaining six books. An edition of 3000 was printed (which brought the total issue of Niué Scriptures from the beginning to 29,713 volumes)—and when they reached the island the sales during the first four days realised £40.

In Samoa in 1884 every village had its house of prayer and its native pastor; and in a population of 35,000, the Bible-readers numbered 30,000. The sum of £765, transmitted between 1884 and 1886, gave some measure of the value the people attached to the Holy Book. Of the special need for it at this time we have a brief indication in a letter from the Rev. J. Marriott of the Malua Seminary: "The Bible is our greatest help, surrounded as we are on all sides by a great number of French priests who are bitterly opposed to our work, and do all they possibly can to get our people to turn over to them. Yet we do hold all our people, and the most powerful means of keeping them is by urging them to read

the Word of God for themselves." The remainder of the second edition of the Bible was cleared off; the third (10,000 copies) was ready in 1885; and in October 1886 Dr Turner began for the fourth time the task of correcting the proofs of the entire Samoan Scriptures, and once more there was a companion by his side to help him. Twenty thousand copies of the new volume—a school and pocket edition—were printed in 1887, and the first consignment was eagerly purchased by the rising generation. "The keenest disappointment was depicted on the faces of young Samoans" when they found that it had been "sold out."

The rivalry of three Great Powers, official jealousies and intrigues, native feuds and ambitions, had now involved one of the loveliest spots on the globe in turmoil and civil war. For a number of years there was little to record of Bible-work in the islands, beyond the shipment of grants on missionary terms. In 1902, 7000 copies (£1089), and in 1903, 2000 more (£255), together with 500 Bibles and Testaments in English and German, were despatched for the L.M.S. stations.[1] Since 1884 the Society had printed 30,000 Bibles in Samoan (a tongue which "for beauty of sound was a dream," thought Stevenson), and its total issues amounted to 75,600 copies in 1904, when proofs were being read for yet another edition of the New Testament in large type.

To one who remembers how people came from all the islands round to Levuka, how companies of plantation hands, dozens of bright-faced children, groups of women climbed the green hill to the mission-house, it is not surprising that the jubilee of the Fiji Mission—the fiftieth anniversary of the landing on Lakemba, the most easterly of "the hundred isles," should have been an occasion of great rejoicing among the Fijians in the autumn of 1885.

[1] In 1902 a pulpit Bible was prepared for the Samoan congregations in Suva, the capital of the Fiji Islands.

A deputation from the Wesleyan Church in New South Wales, Victoria and New Zealand took part in the celebration, and returned with glowing accounts of the triumphs of the Gospel. Fiji was still in the idyllic stage of its baptismal ardour. No one begrudged the price of the most expensive and beautiful copies of the Bible. It was kept on the finest mats, lay within reach of the patient in the sick ward, was carried as a companion on voyage and journey. Even the imported labourers, men who at first resisted all attempt to win them to Christian worship, were moved by the religious life which they saw around them, and sought instruction.

Up to 1886, 6000 New Testaments, in addition to the 3000 Bibles of the second edition, were printed, and sent out to Fiji. At the annual district meeting of missionaries in 1889 the duty of revising the entire version was assigned to the Rev. Frederic Langham, who had been chaplain and adviser to Thakombau long before the islands were ceded to the British Crown, and whose perfect scholarship was the flower of thirty years' experience. But the demand for the Scriptures was too constant and too pressing to admit of delay, and in 1890 Mr Calvert revised the New Testament for another issue of 4000 copies. Counting the Rotuman, it was the seventh New Testament he had edited, and the great Wesleyan pioneer, the story of whose life and work had thrilled many a Bible Society audience, was about to undertake an interim edition of the Bible, when he was called to his reward early in 1892. A copy, however, which he had carefully corrected was reproduced by photo-process, and an edition of 3000 supplied immediate wants.

At the end of 1895 Mr Langham withdrew from active service in order that he might devote his whole time to the work of revision, and in the summer of 1898 he returned to England, where he was nowhere more heartily welcomed than at the Bible House. Meanwhile yet another impression

of the New Testament—5000 copies—had been completed and shipped to the South Seas in 1895, and by this same summer of 1898 the entire stock had been dispersed among the 1300 villages in the mission district. Continual inquiries were made for the revised version. "I am longing," said one of the chiefs who came to bid Langham farewell, "to see the revised Book. We are all longing for it, and I am praying to God to spare my life that I may see it. When I have read it, I shall be prepared to say, 'Now I can die happy!'" By this time the revision of the New Testament had been finished, and in 1900, 5500 copies were forwarded; they were all sold within the twelvemonths, and a second edition of 10,000 was at once put in hand.

Steady progress was made with the Old Testament. Mrs Langham and Miss Langham Lindsay, their adopted daughter, bore their share in the arduous task, which involved altogether about 60,000 corrections and emendations; and in 1902, as the work attained completion, these beloved fellow-workers were taken away. With a sorrowful heart but with great courage the aged missionary held on his way, shrinking neither then nor afterwards from any duty or service. With his clear-cut profile and long snow-white hair falling on his shoulders, he was a picturesque figure among the Fijian contingent — several of them members of his old church—as he conducted them about the capital at the time of the Coronation. On the 6th March 1903 he spoke in the Queen's Hall at the inauguration of the Centenary,[1] and his last public speech was

[1] On this occasion he stated that 52,000 persons, more than half the native population of Fiji, were virtually church members, and among them there were 4000 lay-preachers. In February 1903 news of a lamentable defection reached this country. At a meeting of Fijian chiefs at the time of the Coronation, Roko, the high chief of the Namosi Province, was charged with intriguing against the Government. A native teacher, he declared, had betrayed him, and in revenge he went over to Roman Catholicism with some hundreds of his people. Priests and nuns were introduced to Namosi, a chapel was built, and in February, at the instigation of the priests, a large number of Bibles and Testaments belonging to these "converts" were publicly burned at the Roman Catholic mission station at Nailililli.

delivered on behalf of the Society in April. His old colleague, the Rev. J. Nettleton, assisted him in reading the last proofs of his Bible, and bore testimony to the accuracy and beauty of the new text. An edition of 2000 handsome volumes was printed. In February 1903 the University of Glasgow conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity; on the 21st July, at Stoke Newington, he closed a long life of faithful service.

During these years 8000 Bibles and 30,900 Testaments were published, and receipts from Fiji amounting to £1700 are recorded. The Reports show a total from the beginning of 93,997 copies (13,125 Bibles and 13,125 Testaments) printed in Fijian by the Society, but Dr Langham estimated the aggregate, including Portions, at 183,000 volumes.

The troubles with which religious liberty had been threatened in the Loyalty Islands reached a crisis in 1884. "The authorities," wrote Mr Creagh from Lifu, "have interfered with our work. All our schools are to cease in September next. We have been teaching the natives in their own vernacular. That is to be discontinued. Nothing but the French language is to be taught. The French Government is determined to extend 'French influence and the French language in these islands, which are French.'" Little consideration was shown for the devoted men who had cast out the seven devils of savagery. Mr Jones, who had been in Maré for thirty years, was superseded. A French Protestant pastor was placed in control, and the native congregations were threatened with coercion. They resisted, and the result was an iniquitous abuse of force. The churches they had built were closed, the pastors of their own race were deported to Noumea; they were forbidden to meet for public worship on Sunday or weekday. But the people were sustained by a strong Biblical faith in the Judge of all the earth. In almost every house on Lifu

they might be seen on the day of rest reading and explaining the Word of God, and teaching their children in the only school they had left—the family Sunday school—to spell out the Bible. In circumstances of exceptional harshness Mr Jones himself was at last arrested by an armed force and expelled from Maré in December 1887. This period of fanatical oppression ceased on the appointment of a new Governor who had the courage of his higher intelligence and broader humanity. The Maré exiles were restored to their homes, but Mr Jones, whose case was laid before Lord Salisbury, failed to obtain either leave to return or compensation for his property, which had been confiscated. The appointment of a French pastor, which as part of the policy of coercion had been keenly resented, involved at least a recognition of the Protestant faith; his presence greatly assisted the London Mission to keep the field; and his relations with the Bible Society materially enlarged the circulation of the Scriptures in the languages of the group.

Before the occurrence of these events Mr Jones had all but completed a Maré version of the Old Testament. The need for its publication had now become pressing, and in 1890, on his return to Sydney, Mr Jones undertook the work of revision. A Maré Christian had been engaged to assist him, but was stopped on his way by the French officials and sent back to New Caledonia, and the islanders were peremptorily forbidden to go to New South Wales. In 1893, however, Mr Creagh crossed from Lifu, the Hexateuch was completed with native help, and printed in London by the Society in 1897. Mr Creagh and two Maré teachers prepared the rest of the version on Lifu; Mrs Creagh transcribed a great part of the revised text; and in 1902 the complete MS., with marginal references, was forwarded to the Bible House. Proofs were sent out to Sydney, but after correcting the first sixty-four pages Mr Creagh died

on the 8th October 1902, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the forty-ninth of his ministry. The islanders were in great anxiety lest they should lose the Bible for which they had waited so long, but the proof-reading was continued by Mrs Creagh and her daughter; and in 1903—sixty-two years after that strange cry, "I know the true God," was heard on the sea under the twilight shores of Maré—3000 copies of the first Maré Bible were ready for circulation. Mrs Creagh was the daughter of Aaron Buzacott, the beloved Barakoti of Papehia and "the Sons of the Word" in Raratonga.

In the quiet days, too, before the French complications Messrs Sleigh and Creagh had completed the Lifu version—29th August 1884. The revision had occupied three hundred and sixty-one days of nine working hours. In the previously printed Portions alone the corrections exceeded 55,000. Much of the MS. was copied by Mrs and Miss Creagh, and Mr Sleigh took it with him to England in 1888. In July 1890—forty-five years after the translation of the first chapter of St John—the first Lifu Bible (4200 copies, with references) was printed. Half the edition reached Maré in the following February; meetings for thanksgiving and prayer were held in all the Protestant villages; copies were presented to the five chiefs, three of whom were Romanists; men came from fifty and sixty miles away for the new book, for Lifu was spoken by many in the surrounding islands. It was a most fruitful season—groves heavy with cocoa-nuts, "given us to pay for the Word of God." By the end of September 750 volumes were sold at eleven francs (£330); nearly double the number by the next autumn; the whole consignment by the end of 1899. In 1900, 200 more were despatched, and—friendly sign of a more enlightened and conciliatory policy—the excise duty on these books was remitted by the French officers in Noumea. Our story closes with yet another shipment—500 volumes in 1903.

The third written language of these islands was that of Uvea, the beautiful and persecuted. During his furlough in England in 1891 Mr Hadfield superintended the printing of 500 copies of the revised Gospels and Acts, and on his return to the Loyalties gathered eight Uvean scholars about him, and began a complete version of the Bible in Uvean. In 1896 he had completed to the end of the Psalms; in 1898 the last chapter was penned, and Mr Hadfield hastened to London with the MS. so that the old people might see the whole of the Divine Word before they departed. The final proof was passed in March 1901, 1000 copies were printed, and 500 (value £304) were at once sent out to their destination. The first Uvean Portion, the Gospel of St Luke, had been published in 1868.

The little *Dayspring*, the Children's Ship, no longer sufficed for the necessities of the New Hebrides Mission; a steam vessel was needed, and in 1885 Mr Paton was in this country raising the £6000 required for the purpose. On the 6th July he visited the Bible House, and held the Committee spell-bound as he depicted the change which the Word of God had wrought in this archipelago of naked cannibals. Twenty-six years ago a solitary language, that of Aneityum, existed in a written form; since then ten languages wholly, and four in part, had been reduced to writing and brought within the circle of Christian service and Bible translation. There were now in the islands 8000 professed Christians, and among these daily worship was held in every family. From his own Aniwa, where the last printed book was the Gospel of St John, the people wrote that they "could almost see Jesus bending over them and teaching them." There was no drunkenness; and Sunday was a day of rest and praise. One hot Sunday, when some officers of a man-of-war were thirsty and pointed to the tops of the cocoa-nut trees, the islanders pointed

higher than the tree-tops, and then to the running water: "We think it wrong to climb the trees to-day; but come to-morrow and we will fill your boats with cocoa-nuts." But one great trouble cast a shadow over them—the fear that the New Hebrides might be annexed by the French "who had done much in persecuting the natives and hindering the work of God on other groups."

In the following year, indeed, French military *postes* with contingents of marines were planted at Havannah Harbour in Faté and Port Sandwich in Malekula, but the danger was averted by the firmness of the British Government which insisted on the observance of the Anglo-French treaty of 1878. The absence of a recognised authority, however, and the resumption of the *Kanaka* labour traffic were far from conducive to missionary success; still, year after year was marked by a steady advance; and in 1894, when Dr Paton told once more the story of progress in the New Hebrides, at the anniversary meeting of the Society, some portion of the Scriptures had been printed in sixteen of the native tongues, and eleven of the thirty islands had been wholly Christianised, while many of the others were gradually accepting the truths of the Gospel. The New Hebrides Auxiliary was still the only institution of the kind in the South Seas. Up to 1884 the free contribution which had been sent annually to the Bible House had been made up by the mission families, the officers and men of the mission ship, and a few white settlers; but since that date the islanders had helped, and at "the principal meeting of the year with us and our Synod" on one or other of the islands, one would lay down a penny, another a halfpenny, another a threepenny bit, another ten shillings—all that they possessed. During this final period of our narrative these free contributions exceeded £473.

We now pass to the various islands of this group.

Beyond the transmission of a few hundred New Testaments

there is nothing to record of Aneityum, the little isle which was the first to receive in native speech any portion of the Written Word. After long silence we hear once more of Futuna in 1888, when the Sydney Auxiliary printed at the expense of the Society 600 copies of the Acts, translated by Dr William Gunn of the Free Church of Scotland. Four years later he completed a version of Genesis, printed at Sydney in 1895; and subsequently Jonah and various New Testament books were printed in the island. In Tanna two new tongues were added to the Bible list, Weasisi and Lenakel. The Rev. W. Gray, who had founded a new station at Weasisi in 1882, translated the first five chapters of St John, 500 copies of which were printed by the Adelaide Auxiliary in 1888, and in 1895 a similar edition of his Gospel of St Luke was issued. St Matthew in Lenakel (1000 copies) was published by the Melbourne Auxiliary in 1900. The translation was made by the Rev. Frank Paton, who defrayed the cost and presented a donation to the Society; and two years later appeared Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Epistles of John and Revelation. For the people of Aniwa, the low green isle where "rain came up from the earth" (in Paton's well), Dr Paton revised his Aniwa New Testament, and in 1898 an edition of 1000 copies, paid for in advance with native produce, was issued by the Melbourne Auxiliary, and welcomed "with the liveliest interest and gratitude."

While on furlough at Toronto the Rev. H. A. Robertson edited and printed for the Society 2000 copies of the Erromanga Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark. During his absence the Erromanga mission flourished in the care of the Christian chiefs and native teachers. The congregation of the Memorial Church of the five martyrs had increased to 600, and he found on his return 37 adults and 24 children awaiting baptism. In 1886 £70 was transmitted in payment of the new books, and in their thankfulness the teachers

—poor men who received no more than £6 a year—added a free gift of £10. After eighteen years' residence Mr Robertson completed a more scholarly and idiomatic version of the Erromanga Gospels and Acts, and 2000 copies passed through the press; and in 1900 £150 was forwarded as part payment in advance for 1000 copies of a complete New Testament, which appeared in 1901. From the terraced ground of the mission-house one looks down on the fair river which was once stained with the blood of Williams and of Harris; on the grass-covered mountain which towers up from it the Gordons were slain; their gravestones glimmer white through the foliage on the opposite bank. But to-day Erromanga "shares with Aneityum the honour of being the most completely civilised and Christianised island in the group; and the islanders are now as peaceable and amiable a set of people as can be found under the Southern Cross."[1]

In Faté, where nearly every village had its peculiarities of language, translations had been made in the dialects of Erakor and Havannah Harbour. An attempt to combine these varieties of speech in a "compromise version" of the Gospel of St John was carried out by the Rev. D. Macdonald and his colleague, the Rev. J. W. Mackenzie, in 1885. The new text proved a temporary success in Faté and some of the neighbouring islands. Within a year the 1500 copies were paid for; and in 1887 the people were making arrow-root to the value of £115, while £11 was collected in money from two villages, in anticipation of a complete New Testament on the same lines. This last—the second New Testament in a tongue of the New Hebrides—was issued in an edition of 3500 copies late in 1889; still more arrow-root (some 25 cwt.) was manufactured, and in 1890 the balance of expenditure was cleared off.

In the scattered sea-parish between the high woods of Nguna and the Shepherd Isles in the north, mission work

[1] Grimshaw, *From Fiji to the Cannibal Islands*, p. 329.

prospered greatly. In 1886 there were fifteen schools in seven of the thirteen islands, and nearly a thousand souls had been drawn to the foot of the cross. On Emae, the Three Hills Island, utterly heathen a couple of years before, four hundred scholars were being instructed — an extraordinary triumph over superstition, for the islanders were haunted by a dread of books and would not let their children touch them lest they should die. In 1887 St Luke and the Acts in Ngunese were translated, and in 1891 Mr Milne carried through the press at Dunedin an edition of 10,000 copies of selections from the Old and New Testaments, and the First Epistle of John. The version, which was joyfully received, was read through all the islands—Nguna and Emae, Biminga and Tongariki, Ewose and Tongoa—between the northern side of Faté and the southern shores of Epi. The cost had been borne by the Society, but by 1893 £120 was repaid by the people, of whom some four thousand were now professed Christians. In 1896, when 1500 Portions were shipped from Dunedin, several of the remaining heathen villages accepted the Gospel, and the church on Nguna, which had been built for 500 worshippers, had to be enlarged for double the number.

Seventeen miles to the north-west of Tongoa, Epi towers in ledges of forest to a height of 2800 feet—dense tropical forest in which the great banyan multiplies its pillared vaults and the green shade is coloured with many-hued crotons. Among its divers village tongues four were found to be of importance: Tasiko or Yowo, in the south-east over against Tongoa, Lævo in the north-east, Baki in the west, and Bieri in the south-west. Two Raratongan teachers and their wives had been landed in 1861, but the men died, and for a time the mission was abandoned. In 1882 the Rev. R. M. Fraser from Tasmania settled on Epi, and in 1886, when 300 copies of the Gospel of St Mark, the first Baki Portion, was printed by the Sydney Auxiliary, a small

church of five members had been formed at Burumba, a teacher had been stationed at Bieri, and a number of people in the Sakan district had joined "the worship"; but the loss of his two little children and a beloved wife burdened the year with heavy sorrow. The Gospel of St Matthew was translated, St Mark was revised, and in 1892 500 copies were printed. The first Tasiko Portion,[1] the Gospel of St Matthew, translated by Mr Michelsen, was published in the same year; and the edition (600 copies), which the people paid for in arrowroot, was exhausted in 1897. A Lævo version of St John, the work of the Rev. T. Smaill, passed through the press at Dunedin in 1897, and was eagerly bought in the north-east district. A translation of St Luke in Bierian by Mr Fraser was issued in 1898 at Hobart in an edition of 1000 copies, the cost of which had been partly provided in advance. At this date the schools in Epi contained 1500 scholars, the churches numbered 300 members, and steady work was going on in the Training Institution for Teachers, to which the Committee presented 100 English Bibles. A marked effect was produced by the Bierian Gospel, and many forsook the dark ways of heathenism.

Still further north, beyond sixteen miles of sea, Ambrym lifts up its enormous crater from a very Paradise of cocoa-nut palms. Here missionary work was begun in 1883 and carried on with success till 1888, first by the Rev. W. B. Murray, and then by his brother Charles, and an Erromangan teacher. Failing health closed their period of service, and for several years the island was without a missionary. In 1899 the Committee shared with the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand the cost of publishing the Gospel of St Matthew—largely the work of the two brothers—in the dialect of Ranon

[1] As no fitting equivalent could be found in Tasiko for the word "God," "Kot" was used by way of transliteration. Similarly under the guidance of Bishop Patteson, the Melanesian Mission used the English word "God" in all the islands. The notion of a Supreme Being and the belief in a devil, an evil spirit, were altogether foreign to the native Melanesian mind.—Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 117-121.

on the north-west coast; and in the same year they bore half the expense, with the New Hebrides Synod, of 1000 copies of the Gospel of Luke, translated by Dr Lamb into the dialect of Fanting in the south-west corner of the island. From the first the Ambrymese seemed to have listened readily to the Gospel. Their very speech was a language of hope. Our good-bye was their good-morrow, the good wish of another dawn—"Fire in the sky again to you!"—and "love" was the "keeps-calling of the heart." Even the old chiefs who clung to their gigantic colour-splashed *makis* (images cut out of inverted fern trunks) and refused to be baptized, began to pray at sunset to the Great Father to take care of them. The progress made at this time was sufficient to attract the attention of the Roman Church, and four priests were stationed on Ambrym. The argument which decided the old-world discussion at Whitby was urged afresh before a village chief and his hesitating people: "We hold the keys, and your Church is no Church at all." But the native teacher had a more telling argument. "Choose whom you will follow," he said to the people. "But let me remind you"—and it was a summary of his experience of French and English teaching in the South Seas—"that Mary is French, and Jesus Christ is English."[1]

West of Ambrym, Malekula stretches for seventy miles against the blue offing. A mission was started there in 1886, but, with the exception of a narrow strip of country along the coast, it is still an unexplored region of cannibal villages, in which sorcery flourishes and the carved idol-drums are ever bellowing to war; while, if rumour may be trusted, the mysterious woods on the central mountain range are inhabited by malignant pigmy tribes, the "wild men" who once lived on the Three Hills of Emae, and are said to have been seen basking on the slopes of the crater of

[1] Lamb, *Saints and Savages*, p. 155.

The Rev. John G. Paton

Ambrym. It was fully five years before any of the natives sufficiently mastered their dread of *bake* (malign bewitchment) to attend church or school regularly; and when at length one small village agreed to "take the book," the others held aloof to see what evil might happen. Every few miles along the shore the language changed, and the bush tribes of one valley scarcely understood the speech of the next. Three of the most widely-known tongues—Pangkumu, Uripiv and Aulua—were chosen to convey the message of salvation, and the first Portion in Pangkumu, St Mark, translated by the Rev. Alexander Morton, was published in 1892 at the expense of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria. In 1897 his version of St John, revised by the Rev. F. J. Paton, was printed by the Committee in an edition of 1000 copies; and in 1903, 1500 copies of the Acts, translated by Mr Paton and read over by his father, passed through the press of the Melbourne Auxiliary. St Mark in Uripiv was translated by the Rev. John Gillan, "the only white man who knew the language," and in 1893, 1000 copies were printed at Melbourne. Of the population of 3000 or 4000 for whom it was intended, none could read; but that deficiency was made good, and in 1899 a similar edition of St Luke was issued. The Rev. F. W. Leggatt rendered the Acts in Aulua; 500 copies were printed for the Committee by the Melbourne Auxiliary in 1894, but in course of time 1500 more were needed.

North of Malekula lies the low coral isle of Malo or St Bartholomew. Here the Rev. John D. Landels of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales began his labours in 1887. The Gospel of St Mark, printed in Sydney for the Society, was in circulation in 1892. Four years later, during his furlough in England, 500 copies of Luke and Acts as one Portion, and 1000 of St Mark revised, were seen through the press, and with regard to these also the islanders were eager to owe no man anything. In 1897 he returned to his post

equipped with critical aids provided by the Committee, and in 1901 the Gospel of St John (500 copies) was printed at Sydney. From his verandah in Malo the translator looked out on a scene of rare loveliness—"the spreading bay, the great Santo mountains beyond, draped in blue-purple hazes and sunlights, and the little islets between." The Society's first Bible-work in the languages of Espiritu Santo, the largest of the New Hebrides, was a version of St John in Nogugu, spoken on the west coast of the island. It was prepared by the Rev. J. Noble Mackenzie, and 1500 copies were printed by the Victoria Auxiliaries in 1901.

In that year, on his last visit to this country, when he was enrolled as a Vice-President of the Society,[1] Dr Paton was able to report that at least some part of the Word of God had been circulated in twenty-two of the languages of the New Hebrides; nearly 18,000 savage cannibals had been led to the love and service of Christ; in every instance but one the islanders had defrayed the cost of producing the Scriptures in their own speech; and that the field was then occupied by 30 European missionaries, ordained and lay, with 300 native teachers and preachers. Of these last—unlearned men, not clever, but keenly alive to moral and spiritual influences—what need be said after Dr Lamb's striking testimony: "While we may be the white floats, it is to the brown invisible nets we owe success"?[2]

In these twenty years the Society's issues for the New Hebrides amounted to 38,183 copies—the New Testament, for the first time, in Faté, Erromangan, Aniwan and Lenakel, 6500 volumes, and 31,683 Portions in fifteen other tongues, all but one new to the Society's list.

[1] The venerable missionary died at Melbourne in January 1907 in his eighty-third year.

[2] *Saints and Savages*, p. 263. Some of these native teachers "had given up salaries of £40 a year, with keep, to receive instead half a crown a week and find themselves." The following figures are given as at Christmas 1904:—Population about 50,000; missionaries—Presbyterians, 28 ordained men, 5 laymen, 32 ladies; Anglicans, 3; priests (R.C.), 13; native teachers, nearly 400.

In the Loyalty Islands, Fiji, and the groups to the eastward, 119,487 copies (80,999 Bibles, 32,934 Testaments and 5554 Portions) were published in the same period, and for the first time the Bible appeared in Niué, Lifu and Uvean.

In an earlier chapter reference has been made to the latest and perhaps the most perilous missionary enterprise among heathen tribes—the evangelisation of New Guinea. Traders and seafarers had shunned those malign and brutish shores, on which if drought withered the fruit-trees, some hostile village had "held up" the rain, and the spell must be broken by stone club and spear; if sickness came, it was due to the sorcery of an unfriendly tribe, and every death must be avenged in blood; "and beneath the feathery frondage of the palm-groves cannibalism and every other abomination flourished." In 1871 the L.M.S. missionaries M'Farlane and Murray led the way; in 1874 Lawes reached Port Moresby; in 1877 followed the heroic Chalmers — "a man that took me fairly by storm," wrote R. L. Stevenson, "for the most attractive, simple, brave and interesting man in the whole Pacific."[1] It was a strange and beautiful circumstance that the teachers who accompanied them were themselves a living evidence of its power. One was from the Penrhyn Islands, one from Mangaia, others from Raratonga and Niué—all born savages or children of savages. They were sent along the coast to the curious sea-villages raised on piles over the water; inland too, where the houses stood on platforms, or swung in the tree-tops 100 feet high. They taught the people, opened schools, helped to translate the Scriptures, explained the mystery of the many-leaved creature of white paper covered with tattoo-marks. Some were murdered, others succumbed to the climate, but their places were taken by ever larger bands of dusky volunteers from the Christian islands.

[1] *Vailima Letters*, p. 39.

There was a very Babel of tongues, but Motu, the language of a conquering race, was understood over a very considerable area east and west of Port Moresby. The first three Gospels were translated by J. Chalmers in 1881, and Mark and Matthew, revised by W. G. Lawes, were printed by the New South Wales Auxiliary. "Mareko" reached Port Moresby in 1882, was used in schools and at public worship, and was eagerly read by those who had learned the tattoo-marks. With what searching tenderness the Word Divine touched even these wild hearts may be gathered from a letter—the first ever written by a native of New Guinea—received from one of the young men whom Mr Lawes was training: "Oh, my father, my child is dead, and my heart is very sore; but as David said, She will not come back to me, but I shall go to her." In 1883 St Matthew was printed (500 copies), and in 1885 appeared an edition of the Four Gospels (1000 volumes).

After long years of patient toil Mr Lawes brought home the MS. of the complete Motu New Testament. At the anniversary meeting of the Society in 1901 he told of the spread of learning: letters scratched on cocoa-nut fronds, painted on canoes, grotesquely clipped and "tonsured" on the dusky heads of schoolboys; of the breathing of the Spirit where it listed,—for once a year, when the great trading expedition went two or three hundred miles along the Gulf of Papua and awaited the change of monsoon to return, the Motuans, who took their books with them, held school and taught the natives there the mysteries of the alphabet and the simple truths of the Cross; of their naïve yet vivid realisation of the Bible story, for they made Esau hunt the wallaby and Jacob plant yams and bananas; finally of their deep sense of the blessing which the Word of God had been to them. "This used to be our constant companion," said a man, lifting a spear, at the first missionary meeting at Port Moresby; "we dared not visit our gardens

without it, we took it in our canoes, and carried it on our journeys, we slept with it by our side, and took our meals with it at hand; but now," and he held up a copy of the Gospels, "we can sleep soundly because of this, and this book has brought us peace and protection, and we have no longer need for the spear and the club."

An edition of 2000 was printed, and at Christmas that year Queen Victoria graciously accepted the first version of the New Testament from "The Land of the Brilliant Plume." A little later an attempt was made by the missionaries to fix Motu as the dominant language, and so attain the ideal of a single Bible for the entire south-east coast of New Guinea. It was the great trading tongue, adopted by the Government and already naturalised among various tribes, and the Committee contributed to the project by providing large supplies of the Scriptures for use in the schools throughout the area of the mission. Time was found for further translation[1] and revision; and in 1901 Dr Lawes returned with the revised Motu New Testament (of which an edition of 3000 was put to press), and appeared once more on the Society's platform.[2]

One of the South Sea teachers translated the Gospel of St Mark into Suau, the language at South Cape, the text was revised by the missionaries, and 500 copies were printed at Sydney in 1885. After a second revision, it was reprinted in 1892; and as the hope of making the Motu version the standard for the south-east coast was not altogether realised,[3] 1000 copies of the Acts were printed in England in 1902, when the name of the language was changed to Daui (the name of the district, in which Suau was but a

[1] 120 of the Psalms, 19 chapters of Proverbs and 48 of Isaiah were translated, but as the Committee desired to preserve intact every book in its complete form, this selection was not printed by the Society.

[2] A few days before the meeting (8th April) Dr Chalmers, Oliver Tomkins and ten native helpers were murdered while endeavouring to make peace between two savage tribes.

[3] In May 1897 the L.M.S. missionaries passed a resolution in which Scripture translations were limited to six languages.

small island), and the completion of the Gospels by the Rev. C. W. Abel was arranged for. A translation of St Mark by the Rev. A. Pearse for the people of Keapara (Kerepunu), south-east of Port Moresby, was printed at Sydney in 1892, and seven years later the Committee published 2000 copies of a volume of the Gospels and the Acts.

In 1898 St Mark in Tavara by Mr Abel (1000 copies) was printed in Auckland. At Higabai the sight of the village children reading the little book so stirred the old chief Iokobo that he could not rest till he had learned to read for himself, studying by day under the trees in his gardens, poring over the page at night by the light of fire-stick splinters. A thousand copies of St Matthew were issued in 1903, and in this version Maanaima the Samoan greatly helped. The Four Gospels in Toaripi by the Rev. J. H. Holmes (5000 copies) were printed for the tribes of the Elema district on the shore of the Gulf of Papua.

We now pass beyond the eastern limits of the London Mission. In 1891 the Australian Anglicans and Wesleyans entered the field on the north-east coast and among the Louisiade Islands off East Cape, New Guinea. For the latter the Sydney Auxiliary printed in 1894 two versions of St Mark—1000 copies in the language of Panaieti by the Rev. S. B. Fellows, and 1500 in that of Dobu by the Rev. W. E. Bromilow. The Four Gospels and Acts in Dobu were issued in 1898, and as Panaieti was found to be but a Dobu dialect, it was merged in the larger tongue. St Luke in Wedau, translated by the Rev. Copland King, the pioneer of the Anglican Mission, was published in Sydney (500 copies) in 1901 and speedily exhausted, and 1000 copies of the Four Gospels and Acts appeared in 1903.

When the L.M.S. missionaries led the way to New Guinea in 1871 it was through the mazes of islands which stretch from Cape York like the shattered piers of a giant

causeway across the Torres Straits. Teachers were left on Murray Island, which afterwards became the headquarters of the western or Papuan branch of the Mission, and on Saibai, within view of the mysterious mainland. The Gospel of St Mark in the speech of Saibai and the adjacent islands was translated by Melia, a Lifu teacher, revised by Mr M'Farlane, and printed at Sydney in 1884. After a long interval of silence an edition (1000 copies) of the Four Gospels was issued by the Committee in August 1900, and welcomed in the Straits with cheering and great rejoicing. In the Mer or Murray Island tongue, St Mark, translated by Mataika[1] and revised by Mr M'Farlane, and St John, translated by Mr M'Farlane assisted by the Rev. Harry Scott,[2] passed from the press at Sydney in October 1885 in an edition of 1000 copies. St Matthew was translated by Finau, a Samoan, and St Luke by Tōtamo, another island teacher, and all Four Gospels were revised, brought into harmony of style, and seen through the press by Mr and Mrs Scott in 1902.

In 1904, three-and-thirty years, the span of our Saviour's earthly life, have gone by since the first hymn,

"Jesus shall reign where'er the sun,"

was sung at sunset on the isle of Dauan, "with the great dark land of New Guinea before us." In that interval the New Testament in Motu and various Portions in eight other languages of New Guinea—in all 30,500 copies of Scripture—have been published by the Society; and to-day there are thousands of dusky tribesmen "living testimonies to the fact that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is still the power of God unto salvation to all who believe." "But for the little whitewashed houses along the coast," declared a Lieutenant-Governor,

[1] Mataika was one of the South Sea teachers left on Darnley Island. His destination was Murray Island, but as no opportunity of a passage occurred, he built a rude canoe, and, committing himself to the divine care, crossed the thirty miles to windward in two days and a night and landed safely.

[2] Afterwards Assistant Home-secretary at the Bible House.

"the Administration would have been doubled, perhaps quadrupled, in strength." Those whitewashed houses are the churches, schools and manses in which the Word of God is daily read and taught.

Two hundred miles east of New Guinea the German flag, since 1884, has changed New Britain and New Ireland into New Pomerania and New Mecklenburg. Between the two great islands lies a small cluster still known as the Duke of York Islands. In August 1875, a year and a half after the last white traders had fought their way to their boats and fled from those murderous shores, the Rev. George Brown of the Australian Wesleyans landed on York Island with teachers from Fiji and Samoa. In 1882 the Gospel of St Mark, translated by Mr Brown into the language of the cluster, was printed for the Society by the Sydney Auxiliary. St Matthew and Portions of John, Luke and the Psalms followed, four years later; and in 1896 a revised edition of the first two Gospels was published. The Acts, by the Rev. R. H. Rickard, in Raluana, the speech of the mainland (New Britain), was printed in 1886; the Four Gospels and Acts were brought out in 1892; and in 1902 the New Testament was issued—at Sydney, like the earlier books—in an edition of 2000 copies.

Yet further to the east, we enter the waters in which the *Southern Cross* flies the colours of the Melanesian Mission. In October 1899 the Rev. W. G. Ivens took to Melbourne the Gospel of St Luke in the language of Ulawa, a small island in the British Solomon group. Four hundred and fifty copies were printed, and in a little time paid for in the picturesque currency of early mission days,—dogs' teeth, porpoise teeth, combs, tropic shells. In Bugotu, the principal tongue in Ysabel Island (first reduced to writing by the heroic Bishop Patteson), the Gospels and Acts were brought home by the Rev. Henry Welchman in 1901;

2500 copies were printed—far too few to satisfy the eager demands of the people; and the translator's honorarium went towards the cost of the small mission coaster *Ruth*.

Besides these larger undertakings, the Society attended to every claim and desire for the Word of Life. Japanese, Chinese and Portuguese Scriptures were shipped to Hawaii in 1897. In 1898 a grant of English Bibles was sent to Palmerston Island, between Samoa and the Hervey group. There, on ten palm-green specks within a reef of coral—the largest but a mile round and three feet above sea-level—dwelt forty-five descendants of an English sailor. In 1887, 1894 and 1896 the Committee provided for the Pitcairn Islanders, descendants of the Bounty mutineers, who had emigrated to Norfolk Island in 1886; and from 1890 onwards the night-schools and Christian workers on Thursday Island were supplied with the Scriptures in Samoan, Rotuman, Japanese and other languages, for the benefit of the coloured men of all races employed at that busy centre of the pearl-shell and *bêche-de-mer* fisheries.

Thus was the Word of God cast upon these vast waters, so that, to use Fuller's phrase, "neither height nor depth, no, not of the ocean itself, should separate any from the love of God."

CHAPTER LXXI

THE NEW ZEALAND AUXILIARIES

So far Bible-work in New Zealand had scarcely been touched by the financial depression which set in about 1880. But times grew harder; the prices of wool and wheat dropped lower and lower, the output of gold declined, trade shrank, the value of land fell; "in some districts three-fourths of the prominent colonists were ruined," and thousands of settlers left the country. There was little sign of recovery until the early nineties, but even in these straitened years there was proof that the welfare of the cause depended less on the material prosperity than upon the spiritual vitality of the people.

Mr Baker's temporary appointment ceased on his acceptance of a pastoral charge in 1884. From 1887 to 1894 inclusive Mr Robjohns visited the islands yearly as part of the East Australian Agency, and every effort was made by means of new organisations, the help of lady collectors, children's meetings, addresses and appeals to counteract the effect of the depression.

After twenty-five years' service as treasurer of the Auckland Auxiliary Mr J. C. Firth retired in 1886, and was succeeded by Mr F. L. Prime, who was still at his post at the Centenary. In these northern districts the need of colportage was obvious, for up-country storekeepers nearly doubled the cost of the Scriptures, and a Maori Bible had been known to pass on loan from village to village on account of the prohibitive prices.

In 1887 New Plymouth in Taranaki, and Marlborough, with its headquarters at Blenheim, were added to the list of Auxiliaries, and among the Branches formed was one of special interest. In 1865 the Hau-haus had swooped down on Poverty Bay, and done their best to incite the Christian natives to murder Bishop Williams. They joined the "Mad Dogs," and the station at Turanga was destroyed, but the Bishop and his son (afterwards Archdeacon) were allowed to escape. Turanga in 1887 was the pleasant little town of Gisborne, with four Protestant churches, a Maori Episcopal College, and a Salvation Army barracks; and on Mr Robjohns' first visit, a Branch society was formed under the presidency of the Archdeacon, supported by the ministers of the place. In 1889 the agent found the district in a state of panic. Matawhero, six miles away, had been the scene of Te Kooti's tragic vengeance in 1868, and the Hau-hau "prophet," still in Waikato, had just announced his intention of returning to his old home. Arrangements were made for a Bible meeting in the church at Matawhero, the only building spared by the raider. In spite of the "fear upon every side" there was a good attendance, and a few days later the arrest of Te Kooti quieted all thoughts of danger. Gisborne in later years became an Auxiliary with Branches of its own.

Much interest was awakened in several districts by the New Testament issued in commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee, and in 1888 between 8000 and 9000 copies were distributed to the schools in South Canterbury, in the circuits of the Blenheim and Nelson Auxiliaries in Marlborough province, and around Cambridge in Waikato. During his tour in this year Mr Robjohns was warmly assisted at Wanganui and Wellington by the venerable George Müller of Bristol, who had then reached the age of eighty-three and had circulated little less than 1,526,000 copies of Scripture. Indeed one of the pleasant experiences in Bible-work in New

Zealand was the frequent meeting with old friends, officials and members of Auxiliaries at home, relatives of people one knew, missionaries from the East and from the South Seas, all ready "for old sake's sake" to lend a helping hand.

At the annual meeting in April 1889 Timaru ceased to be a Branch of Canterbury and became the independent Auxiliary of South Canterbury, with a Branch at Waimate. From the president's garden at Timaru one saw the Pacific, unbroken through a hundred and twenty degrees to the shores of Chili; inland the snowy splendour of Mount Cook towered in the clear heavens, and beyond it, on the shore, the sometime Branch at Hokitika, already an Auxiliary, looked down the curve of western seas to the Auxiliaries in Tasmania. Twenty-seven years had passed since the formation of the Canterbury Auxiliary, and the aged founder heard of these developments before he passed away.

A new edition of the Maori Scriptures (6060 Bibles, 4040 New Testaments, and 2020 copies of the Four Gospels and Acts), revised by Archdeacon Maunsell[1] and Mr Williams, was completed in 1889, and the residue of the early Old Testament Portions — 2600 volumes of the Historical and Prophetical Books and the Psalms—was sent out for free distribution among the native teachers, the schools and the poor. In 1890, the jubilee year of the colony, it was estimated that, since the first translations were printed, 126,000 copies had been distributed among the Maoris. The white population had now grown 600,000 strong, but decade by decade the island race was vanishing away, as the great wingless birds had vanished long before. A special effort was made to bring the Word of God more closely home to them, but little came of it, for indiscriminate gifts of English friends had almost put a stop to sales.

[1] This venerable scholar and Churchman, whose mission work began in 1834 and whose name had become a household word, died at Auckland 19th April 1894, in his eighty-fourth year.

The Rev. R. De Wolf, who travelled through the islands in 1894 on behalf of the Committee, was apparently the first to plead the Bible cause in the Hot Lakes region. At the Maori village of Ohinemutu on Rotorua he preached twice in the church of St Faith and talked to the Sunday-school children. The Pink and White Terraces had perished in 1886, but Tarawera was still in its place, and one recalled the story of simple faith which Bishop Cowie told of one of his native clergy during the terrible eruption. Tarawera spouted fire, the country was smothered in burning dust, the people were crying that it was the end of the world. "No," said the Maori pastor calmly, "the end of the world has not yet come. Do you not remember that it is said in the New Testament that when the end of the world shall come the lightning shall flash from the east to the west? Look at the lightning; it is only over one hill; the end of the world has not come yet."

Owing to the change from the agency system in Australia, this was the last official visit from that country, and for the next four years the work was carried on by the Auxiliaries alone. In 1896-97 the circulation of Auckland reached the highest point on record—6383 copies, of which 5402 were in English, 838 in Maori, and 23 in thirteen different languages. Circulars had been forwarded to every Auxiliary and Branch society in New Zealand. Prices were reduced, grants voted to Sunday schools, deputations sent out, colportage used, and personal visits made by members of the committee. For some months in 1896 and in the next two years a lady colporteur travelled among the tribes on the Bay of Plenty, the Bay of Islands, and in the districts of the northern promontory; visited the Waikato tribes, New Plymouth, Wanganui, the Thames Valley, and the eastern slopes of the Coromandel range; and sold about 3000 copies before she resigned through failing health.

From the death of Tawhiao (1894) and the accession of

his son as "King" a more friendly disposition towards the Bible and the missionary was observed among the tribes which held aloof. The feeling strengthened as time passed, and the way was still further cleared when the Government prohibited the evil practices of the *tohunga Maori*, or medicine-men, which had been the cause of a heavy mortality.

Towards the close of 1898 the Rev. F. H. Spencer, son of a C.M.S. missionary in the colony, was happily selected as agent. Every device, from pin-cards to Bible Sunday sermons, was used to awaken interest in the objects of the Society; and despite the excitement of the South African war and the appeal for other objects, patriotic and religious, a generous response was made to its claims.

On his first visit to New Zealand, Mr Robjohns found 8 Auxiliaries with 19 Branches, and free contributions for the year amounting to £517; on his last, there were 13 Auxiliaries with 27 Branches, and £501 free contributions. When Mr Spencer began, the free contributions did not exceed £443, and there were 15 Auxiliaries with 32 Branches. Five years later, when this record closes, there were still 15 Auxiliaries, but the addition of 50 Branches and the increase of free contributions to £1432 told how effectually the work had been extended both among the European population and the Maoris, whose language might be called his foster-mother tongue.

From 1858 to the close it was estimated that the Auckland Auxiliary circulated nearly 139,000 copies of Scripture in three-and-twenty languages, though for the most part in English and Maori. At its depôt the German shepherd, the Chinese gardener, the Malay or Swedish sailor were equally certain to find the Word of God in their native language. Strangely enough the stock of Maori Scriptures at Auckland ran out in 1900, and application had to be made to other districts. Abundant supplies were promptly forwarded. A reference edition of the New Testament, thoroughly revised by Arch-

deacon Williams, had been issued in 1894, and 3000 Portions in 1898, though as in our own case at home the old version was preferred to the later text. In 1903 another edition of the New Testament and Psalms brought the Society's printings in Maori from the beginning to 152,436 copies. While these books were in the press an application was received through the Auckland depôt on behalf of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland for 5000 copies of the Maori New Testament adapted here and there to the Douai version; but desirous though they were to see God's Word in the hands of the Roman Catholic Maoris, the Committee were unable to comply with the request.

The Otago Bible Society, which in 1886 circulated 6440 copies and covered the Scottish districts south of the Waitangi River, transferred in 1892 the whole of its distribution work, with a subsidy of £50 a year for colportage, to the New Zealand Bible, Book and Tract Society, and confined itself thenceforth to collecting funds in aid of the British and Scottish Societies. An Auxiliary was formed at Oamaru on its northern boundary in 1898, and in the following year Invercargill with its six Branches in the south joined it. In 1901 the Otago Society had 118 collectors in the field.

Once and again during these years we hear some word of the Cape Breton Highlanders at Waipu. Mr Baker visited the kindly people in 1884, and was most hospitably entertained by Murdoch M'Leod, J.P., "son of the founder of the settlement." Neil Campbell was then secretary and D. Mackenzie, J.P., treasurer of the M'Leod Branch. In 1887 Mr Robjohns held an afternoon service there, and some two hundred horses were tethered outside the church to take their riders to their homes. In 1895 the treasurer retired, and his place was taken for a year by Captain John Mackenzie, and then by Neil Campbell, the son of the secretary. Touched with the infirmities of age, the

secretary himself resigned in 1898, was succeeded by Samuel Edward M'Leod, a grandson of Norman, and died in the following year, "one of the early pioneers of this colony." In 1901 we read of the loss of two of the oldest supporters of the cause, William Mackenzie and John Grant M'Leod. William, one guesses, was uncle of Captain John and brother of the first treasurer. John Grant M'Leod, of Whangarei Heads, was a son of Norman; and a son of his, also a Norman, seems to have succeeded him on the Waipu committee. A unique little idyll of half a century of Bible-work in a Highland strath at the antipodes!

In 1903 Mr Lawry, who had been present at the founding of the Auckland Auxiliary, had served it as honorary secretary since 1864, and had been a Life Governor from 1893, tendered his resignation, but consented to hold the position of secretary *emeritus*.[1] There was in New Zealand, however, one man whose memory reached even further back into the past of the Society. Preaching on Bible Sunday 1904 in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Auckland, Dr Purchas told how as a child, more than seventy years ago, he had seen as a visitor at his father's house the man who uttered the memorable words: "If for Wales, why not for the Kingdom?—why not for the world?"

During the decade ending 1893-94, £6194 was received on purchase account from New Zealand; the figures after that date are merged in other receipts. The free contributions during the twenty years amounted to £12,018, of which £4470 was received in the last five. North Canterbury contributed £3242 (North and South together £4057), Otago £1722, Auckland £1573, the M'Leod Branch £722 (or £2266 from the beginning), Wellington £636. Apart from these sums a legacy of £832 was left by Miss Marian Wotherspoon of Christchurch. Only a portion of the Society's direct expenditure is discernible—£1394 in the last five years of the period.

[1] He died at Auckland in 1906 at the ripe age of eighty-four.

CHAPTER LXXII

THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH

THOUGH the new agents from England were received with the utmost cordiality, the situation was one of some delicacy. Matters were happily put in the proper light; it was made clear that the autonomy of the Australian system lay wholly outside their commission, and that the sole object of the Committee was to assist the Colonies in the extension of the work, and to draw the Auxiliaries into closer union with the Parent Society.

In the division of the field, Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria east of the Melbourne-Echuca railway were assigned to Mr Robjohns; but in 1886 New Zealand was added to his charge, and then the whole of Victoria, Tasmania and South and Western Australia fell to Mr Robinson. The success of these appointments was unmistakable, and letter after letter spoke of unstinted hospitality, of growing enthusiasm, of services more and more sought after.

In March 1885 the distribution of some 700 New Testaments to the New South Wales contingent of volunteers for the Soudan associated the Bible Society with a patriotic episode that stirred the sense of kinship throughout the world-wide empire of the Old Country. A few months later (23rd July) the Sydney Auxiliary lost its second president, Sir George Wigram Allan, whose father had held office for fifty years; and by the unanimous vote of the committee the Primate (Dr Barry) was elected as his successor.

The annual meeting of 1886 was one of the most brilliant in the annals of the Auxiliary. Bible Society sermons were preached in twenty-nine places of worship; the Governor, Lord Carrington, took the chair, and numbers of people were unable to obtain admission to the crowded hall. Sydney had its own District-secretary, it will be remembered, and so far Mr Robjohns found his work lightened in New South Wales.

In three years the new agent travelled 35,700 miles, and fulfilled 593 engagements. From Balli to Nowra, the beautiful Illawarra district between the sea and the high forest-hills south of Sydney was brightened with a series of fervid meetings; friends followed him from one place to the next; and in 1887 the Illawarra Auxiliary appeared on the Society's roll. He was welcomed by the Bishop to the vast new Diocese of Riverina in the south-west.[1] Once and again he took part in the flower-meetings of the children of Goulburn—joyful gatherings of some 2000 young people, who brought a profusion of flowers to be given away later among the sick. East Maitland became an Auxiliary, and the Western Auxiliary at Bathurst enlisted the clergy of all denominations in work among its Branches.

Brisbane vied with Sydney in the celebration of its twenty-ninth anniversary. Bible Sunday was observed in five-and-twenty churches and chapels. Mr Robjohns addressed a gathering of 2000 scholars and a "non-church-going congregation" of 1500, while 1200 people attended the annual meeting, instead of the handful of fifty on previous occasions. On the resignation of Bishop Hale in 1884 his successor Dr Weber accepted the presidency, and for years was a wise counsellor and sure friend in South Queensland. At Townsville every assistance was given by the Bishop of North Queensland, Dr Stanton, who held

[1] Dr Linton, to whom the Committee voted Scriptures to the value of £50 on his leaving for his see.

the position of president of the Auxiliary from its formation in July 1885 until his transfer to Newcastle, New South Wales. In the three years six new Auxiliaries and fifteen Branches were added to the roll in Queensland — "spontaneous growths," we read, "not the direct planting of the agent."

However that may be, the agent was everywhere in evidence, awakening the interest of the young, uniting all forms of belief in furtherance of the cause. We follow him to Toowoomba, Mackay, Gympie; to Maryborough, whither the Committee sent supplies in the South Sea tongues for the Kanakas on the plantations; to Rockhampton, where nine Bible Society sermons ushered in the anniversary; to Charters Towers the golden, and further west to Ravenswood near the springs of the Burdekin, where a committee was drawn together; to the tent-dwellers at the mines of Torbanlea; to Jericho, another canvas town, which moved onward with the iron road through the tropic forest; to Cairns, where on the day of its incorporation the first mayor took the chair at the first Bible meeting. So into the north as far as Cooktown, where he came in contact with the black race. It was a large encampment on a ridge within a mile of streets and churches—a remnant of some tribe, naked, houseless, stunned by the impact of civilisation, which was passing away like a dream from the lost lands of their people. Quick-witted they were said to be, but nomadic, untamable, cruel and treacherous. "Leave them alone," was the advice one often heard, "they are happier without the Gospel."

With Mr Robinson it was the same stirring tale in the other Australian colonies and Tasmania. New ground was broken among the small townships springing up on the wild wooded west coast of Tasmania. Twelve hundred miles through the wintry Antarctic rollers, an agent for the first time landed in Western Australia. At Perth,

where he was the Bishop's guest, an Auxiliary was founded on the 18th August 1884, with the Governor, Sir F. Napier Broome, as patron, and Bishop Parry as president, and a great concourse of children were told the wonderful story of Bible-work in every clime. Committees were formed and depôts opened at York, among its gardens and spacious corn-lands, 80 miles inland; at Geraldton, nearly 300 miles higher up the coast; at Bunbury, the chief port of the south-western districts, where "nearly the whole town crowded to the meeting." Twice in his visits to the colony Robinson rode across the eighty leagues of Bush between Bunbury and Albany on King George's Sound. For years the Rev. Andrew Buchanan, Congregational minister at Bunbury, had travelled through the nearer reaches with Bibles and Testaments in his saddle-bags; but in the depths of the wilds, where emu abounded, and flocks of parrots and herds of kangaroos were startled among the giant gum-trees, the agent came upon a camp of the Blacks—men, women, and dogs, all asleep together beside blazing logs, in the lee of a screen of rushes. "Some were sick, and some were dying. They did not know enough English to understand me, but I longed to tell them of the great redemption wrought out for us long ago at Jerusalem." In spite of broken health, Miss Clifton continued to send home yearly contributions; and though the York depôt supplied all needs, Mr Parker of Dangin was loth to close the direct intercourse maintained with the Bible House for eight-and-twenty years.

South Australia made up in sustained service for what it lacked in novelty of incident. During three months Robinson fulfilled over seventy engagements. Agriculture was suffering, trade was depressed, but the meetings were of the heartiest, and enlivened according to the admirable custom of the colony by the singing of united Sunday-school choirs. Every town of any importance had its Bible

depôt and free contribution list, even as far away as Port Darwin on the northern shores of the colony, fronting New Guinea.[1] The secret of this happy state of things was probably the wide circulation of the Society's *Reports*, the *Reporter*, the *Gleanings*, and the *Story of Mary Jones*. Without them interest waned and effort declined. In 1886 the Adelaide Auxiliary obtained a deed of incorporation, and in the following year, with the assistance of the Committee, made an impressive display of the Society's work at the Queen's Jubilee Exhibition.

From Geelong to Beechwood and Wangaratta, among the picturesque hills which recalled the lower ranges of Switzerland; from the fair Gippsland lakes, with their myriads of black swans, to Portland in the far south-west, all was life and energy in Victoria. Auxiliaries and Branches were raised up, and contributions flowed in from many places where little had hitherto been done. Unvisited for years, Portland had lost heart, and affairs were on the point of being wound up, when the arrival of the agent acted like a charm. The Aborigines Mission at Lake Condah became one of its Branches, and for the first, though by no means for the last time, the black men of Victoria contributed to the Society.[2]

Melbourne itself was roused to some enthusiasm. Suddenly, in September 1885, that Auxiliary reverted to the plan of an independent agency which had been so recently tried and proved inexpedient. A special fund was raised for the purpose, and the Rev. C. S. Price was appointed to undertake the vitalising work of the colony. This unexpected

[1] The telegraph, passing over the track of early central exploration, connected Adelaide with Port Darwin, nearly 2000 miles distant, in 1873.

[2] There were other aboriginal mission stations. For some glimpse into the minds of these black men, *see* Mrs Langloh Parker's *Australian Legendary Tales*, the folk-lore of the Noongahburrahs around Bangate, Narran River, New South Wales, and especially the vocabulary. It is curious that the Blacks seem to have had no knowledge of gold; in the Dieri translation *marda maralje* ("stone red") was used as an equivalent.

course, coupled with the cost of the arrangements at Sydney, raised the question of expenditure in Australia, but the Committee took time to consider their action, and the trend of these movements was better understood a few years later.

The approach of Queen Victoria's Jubilee suggested to Mr R. Gillespie, a leading member of the Melbourne Committee, the scheme of the Jubilee Testament, to which we have referred in an earlier chapter.[1] In response to a petition forwarded by the Governor, Sir H. Loch, her Majesty graciously transcribed a text and signed it with her own hand for reproduction in each copy. Upwards of 170,000 copies were distributed in the State schools of Victoria, and despite the publication of several bigoted articles, very few of the Roman Catholic children refused the little book. The cost of supplying the children in South Australia was generously defrayed by Mr J. H. Angas, president of the Adelaide Auxiliary. In Queensland 40,000 copies were circulated in 459 schools. The book was treasured by many as a gift from the Queen herself, not to be parted with for gold. Schoolboys were "caught" reading it. It made "a sensation" in the small townships among the great woods and the mountains of Gippsland, and found its way into many a Bush district in Queensland and Victoria.[2]

Mr Robinson resigned early in 1888, and on the 1st June that year his successor, the Rev. George Davidson, until then District-secretary for Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, reached Hobart Town. A man of earnest piety, genial wit, scholarship in eight or nine languages, he brought with him experience far beyond that of his predecessors. He was the only agent who made the circuit of four colonies and delivered 325 sermons and lectures in one year. Over 2000

[1] Vol. iv. chap. xli. p. 190.

[2] In connection also with the Queen's Jubilee, the Rev. W. Gray, the Weasisi translator, from the New Hebrides, presented 240 copies of Delitzsch's Hebrew Testament to the Jewish community in Brisbane, who warmly acknowledged his friendly act.

children hung on his lips at Launceston. He spoke at a cheering anniversary at Perth, and noted the solid work of John Tyndal, the English colporteur sent out by the Committee to Western Australia. At "the beautiful mountain town" he conversed in his high garden with John Dunn, president of the Mount Barker Auxiliary, the oldest colonist, the oldest Bible Society man, now in the peaceful light of his eventide. The kindly patriarch died at a great age in 1894, bequeathing to the Auxiliary £1000 for the general purposes of the Society. The amount was sent to the Committee for investment as "The John Dunn Trust Fund," the yearly interest being regarded as a free contribution from Mount Barker. At Beechworth he added a charm to the moonlight evenings, the favourite time for meetings, especially among the Bush people.

In December 1889, on the suggestion of the secretary for Geelong ("no place in all Victoria more generous than Geelong"), a committee was appointed to draw the Victorian Auxiliaries into more closely-united action on behalf of the cause. One recommendation, the observance of Bible Sunday, was promptly adopted throughout the colony.

In 1901 the Melbourne Auxiliary held its jubilee. It was only in 1835 that John Batman tied his boat to a tree close to the spot where the Custom House now stands, and wrote in his diary: "This will be the place for a village." In 1836 the population of "Australia Felix," as it was then called, was 224. Two years later the site of Melbourne was still a wilderness for the savage, the emu, the kangaroo and the wild dog. When the Auxiliary was founded about 5000 people had settled there. The "village" was now a splendid city; Victoria had a population of 1,140,000; and instead of one small Auxiliary there were nine flourishing Bible centres with over 100 Branches. Here, as in the other colonies, editorial comment and the picturesque columns of the reporter testified to the general interest felt in the Society.

In the nineties, however, the Colonies were overshadowed by commercial depression and other troubles, and for the sake of economy the Victorian agent was replaced by the Rev. J. B. Gason as honorary organising secretary.

Mr Robjohns meanwhile was busy in his own district. In New South Wales the pioneer pressed ever further to the west. Dubbo was enrolled as an Auxiliary; then, 225 miles further inland, he organised Bourke as one of its Branches. It was December; the thermometer stood at 106 degrees—the temperature of Madrid; but sermons and meetings were well attended. Earthworks protected the town against inundation, and the telegraph gave warning many days in advance that the mighty floods of the Darling were on their way; he saw the carriers' camp, whence long trains of camels with their Afghan drivers travelled through the night to provision the stations out in the torrid hinterland; and already he had "a vision of days to come when Bourke itself should be an Auxiliary," and these Oriental caravans should bear the Scriptures into a still remoter west, and the knowledge of God should wax as the swelling of rivers.

In 1891 died Mr William Deane of Enmore, Sydney, by whose princely legacy to the Church Missionary Society, the Church Pastoral Aid Society, and the Bible Society, the last was benefited to the extent of £7358. In 1892 the Society lost a staunch advocate, Dr Mesac Thomas, Bishop of Goulburn,[1] a Vice-President for nearly thirty years; but to its rolls of honour were added the names of the new Primate, Dr Saumarez Smith, and Mr J. H. Angas as Vice-Presidents, and that of Miss Clifton of Bunbury as a Lady Life Governor.

In 1890 the name of "the Queensland Auxiliary" was formally changed to "the Brisbane Auxiliary." Its old secretary, the Rev. E. Griffith, died in 1891. Few things

[1] His successor, Bishop Chalmers, accepted the presidency of the Goulburn Auxiliary.

were more noticeable in the Bible-work of the colony than the troops of children who were attracted to the Society, and the gracious ministry in progress among the coloured people on the plantations — coolies from Java, Japanese, South Sea folk brought in the labour ships, who came in to Mackay and Rockhampton for instruction and Bible meetings from estates twenty miles distant.[1] The two agents exchanged their ground in 1892; and in pleasant contrast with the walls which in certain other places the clergy made round their people, Davidson's happiest recollection of Queensland was "the rivalry of the Christian Churches in Bible-work, and foremost among them the Bishops of Brisbane, Townsville and Rockhampton."[2]

In 1893 Davidson resumed in Tasmania. There in the whirl of life he was stricken down with paralysis, and it soon became evident that his work for the Society—the work of the skilful organiser, the delightful lecturer, the eloquent preacher—was finished. Resigned and serene, he lingered for two years, and died on the morning of 1st June 1895, the seventh anniversary of his landing at Hobart Town.[3]

The occurrence of a vacancy brought again to the front the whole question of the management of the Society's affairs in the Colonies. A change of system was mooted, and in compliance with the representations which reached them, the Committee deputed the Rev. R. De Wolf, sometime Vicar of St Mary's, Sheffield, and Mr Joseph J. Neave, a member of the Society of Friends in New South Wales, to visit the Auxiliaries in 1894, and to discuss their proposals on the spot. Unbounded hospitality, splendid public meetings, and the enthusiasm of multitudes of children marked their progress. As the result of their deliberations with

[1] For a number of years the Scriptures were supplied on the lowest terms to the Kanaka Mission founded on the Bundaberg plantation by Miss Florence Young.

[2] Dr Webber, Dr Barlow and Dr Dawes.

[3] In the same year died Bishop Hale, a Vice-President from 1877, and Archdeacon Tucker, the Society's first agent in Australia. Melbourne had already lost its president, Dean Macartney, who passed away in 1894 in his ninety-fourth year.

forty-two Auxiliaries and thirty-one Branches in Tasmania and Australia, there was found to be a general desire that the Committee should appoint a single agent for Australasia, with a view of establishing gradually a system similar to that of the honorary County-secretaries in England.

While the visitors were in Melbourne another important step was taken. On the 12th December a gathering of delegates from Auxiliaries in the colony unanimously passed a resolution to unite under the title "The Victoria Auxiliaries' Union of the British and Foreign Bible Society," and a constitution was drafted for the federation.[1]

The Committee prepared to adopt the course which commended itself to the experience of the Auxiliaries; and as the maintenance of two agents was universally condemned as an excessive demand on the funds raised in the Colonies, the executives at Sydney and Melbourne were invited to assist in reducing official expenses. In Victoria, however, a paid organising secretary had just been appointed under the Union, and Sydney did not see its way to abate its local outlay. In the circumstances it was decided to await results, and Mr Robjohns was asked to assist for another year in the work of organisation.

During these events he had extended operations to Thursday Island (350 miles north of Cooktown and 60 from New Guinea), where ships of every flag put in, and coloured men of all races were engaged in the great pearl-shell and *bêche-de-mer* fishery. Townsville, in his projects, was to be not only the centre for the golden region lying south of the Gulf of Carpentaria, but the depôt for the equatorial seas, thus saving the New Guinea Scriptures from the expense of a useless voyage of 2500 miles to Sydney and back again. But these things were not to happen in his time.

His engagement terminated in March 1897, and the affairs

[1] In appreciation of their services in the Colonies Mr De Wolf and Mr Neave were enrolled among the Honorary Life Governors.

of the Society were left wholly to Colonial management. Then and afterwards every effort was made to strengthen the ties between the Auxiliaries and the Bible House. Scriptures were supplied on such terms as to admit of their sale at the home catalogue prices. Requests for subsidies towards colportage and deputation expenses, and for grants of Scriptures to schools and benevolent institutions, were readily complied with. Several of the Society's representatives in foreign fields—C. E. Gordon Tisdall in Persia, H. F. Miller at Singapore, Alexander Lawrence in Cochin China—were drawn from Australia, while H. B. Macartney, a vice-president of Melbourne and son of the old Dean, was selected for the charge of the Home Department.

Within a few years, however, there was a distinct decline of Colonial interest in the aims and ideals of the Society. The time, it is true, was one of depression, strikes, floods, successive droughts, appeals on behalf of famine, on behalf of patriotism; but even with the windfall of substantial legacies, the free contributions in 1897-1900 barely averaged £1610 per annum from the whole field, compared with an average of £3287 in the first decade of the period.[1] Repeated requests were made for a return to the agency system. In conference with friends from Sydney a special mission to the chief Australasian Auxiliaries was planned at the Bible House, and was eventually sent out in the Centenary Year.

Once more, in an imperial crisis, the Colonies stood shoulder to shoulder with the Mother Country, and some thousands of Bibles and Testaments were distributed among the volunteer contingents as they embarked for South Africa.

On New Year's Day 1901 the Commonwealth of Australia

[1] Additional sums, retained at Sydney and Melbourne for the printing of New Guinea and South Sea versions, should be counted among the free revenue; but they were probably fully balanced by the Society's continued expenditure in the Colonies. In the seven years ending 1899, for instance, the Sydney Auxiliary spent £538 on these versions.

was proclaimed, and in commemoration of the first Federal Parliament a Bible was presented through the Archbishop of Sydney to the first Governor-General, the Earl of Hopetoun. The magnificent outburst of loyalty which signalised these events was hailed by the Committee as a guarantee of a great Australian future for the Society which especially represented the mission of the British race in the world.

Various details of interest must be noted before we close this chapter.

In 1891, aged eighty-four, died the Rev. C. Price, president of the Launceston Auxiliary from 1885 and a member of committee for sixty years. A third Tasmanian Auxiliary, the Midland, was formed at Ross in June 1896, and an agent-colporteur, maintained by the Society and directed by a joint committee, carried the Word of God to the miners and prospectors on the west coast, and to such settlements as St Aubyn under the heights of Ben Lomond where there was neither school nor Christian service, and a minister of the Gospel was rarely if ever seen. In 1897 a later president of the Northern Tasmanian, the Rev. W. Law, who had been connected with it for upwards of forty years, was enrolled an Honorary Life Governor; and the same distinction was conferred in 1900 on Mr R. C. Kermode of the Midland and Mr J. Francis Mather of the Southern Auxiliary.

The Hon. George Rendall, treasurer of the Perth Auxiliary, Western Australia, was appointed a Life Governor in 1904. In 1903, at the age of eighty-two, died Miss Clifton of Bunbury, whose connection with the work began in 1866, when the only Bible to be found in the shops at Bunbury cost 18s. Her later years were not gladdened by such widespread organisation as might have been expected in a population which had grown from 49,000 to 160,000 between 1891 and 1898.

In New South Wales Mr John Cameron of Solitude,

near Grafton, left the Clarence Auxiliary in 1895 a handsome legacy of £2000 which was transmitted to the Parent Society. In 1900 the Rev. J. S. Macpherson, secretary of the East Maitland Auxiliary, was made a Life Governor. In the last four years of the period the Sydney colporteur travelled 8900 miles in the Bush, visited 10,467 scattered homes, held many services, and sold some 12,000 copies of the Word of Life. The Rev. R. T. Hills, who had taken part in the work since 1860, resigned in 1903 the post of district-secretary to the Sydney Auxiliary, which he had held for over twenty years. In 1904 the secretary, the Rev. J. W. Gillett, was made an Honorary Life Governor. The total distribution of the Sydney Auxiliary amounted to 531,314 copies—278,086 in the last twenty years; 219,862 in the preceding thirty; and 33,366 between 1817 and the Jubilee. That Sydney was looking forward to greater things, witness the site chosen for a new Bible House, towards the cost of which £10,000 had been bequeathed some time before.[1]

Mr R. Gillespie of Melbourne, whose name we have not forgotten, was honoured with a Life Governorship in 1897. He was chosen president of the Victoria Union of Auxiliaries in 1901, but on his re-election in the following year, ill-health prevented him from accepting office, and another Bishop of Melbourne, Dr Lowther Clarke, was called to the high position.[2] The Union secretaries were also enrolled Life Governors—the Rev. W. S. Rolland in 1900, and the Rev. J. B. Gason in 1904.

On the 9th December 1897 the foundation-stone of the new Bible House of the South Australian Auxiliary was laid by the Governor of the colony, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton,

[1] The foundation-stone was laid 17th January 1905 by the Governor, Sir Harry Rawson, in the presence of the Archbishop of Sydney, president of the Auxiliary, and a large concourse of people.

[2] His episcopal predecessor, Dr Goe, a Vice-President of the Society, was the first president of the Victoria Union.

a Vice-President of the Society; and on 19th May 1898 the building was opened with a public dedicatory service. Government House in the first year of the colony (1837) was "a log house in the wilderness"; sixty years had gone by, and this handsome Gothic structure in red terra-cotta, which with the ground it occupied cost £3515, took a unique place among the notable edifices of Adelaide.[1] In recognition of over half a century of devoted service as secretary at Adelaide, Mr George Phillips was added to the fellowship of Honorary Life Governors. The veteran Bibleman died in 1900 in his eighty-first year. An edition (750 copies) of the New Testament in Dieri, the first draft of which was finished in 1894, was published at the expense of the Society in 1899. It was the work of the Lutheran Mission to the Blacks at Bethesda, on Lake Kopperamana, north of Illusion Plains and east of the great Lake Eyre. In 1901 the Right Hon. Sir Samuel J. Way, Chief Justice of South Australia, was elected a Vice-President of the Parent Society. At Angaston, among the vine-clad hills, died 17th May 1904 the president of the Auxiliary, John Howard Angas, in his eighty-first year. A supporter of every philanthropic and religious undertaking, he was ever a warm and generous advocate of the Bible Society in the colony with which he was so closely connected. His father, George Fife Angas, one of the little band, including Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay, who espoused the cause of the slave, was a Crown Commissioner for the colony and the real founder of the South Australian Association, which moulded its future. The circulation of the Adelaide Auxiliary during the twenty years was 240,871; that from its foundation, 460,293.

We leave the Australian Commonwealth with 46 Auxiliaries and 455 Branches and depôts.[2] During the twenty

[1] The new Bible House stands at no great distance from Gawler Place, the scene of the formation of the Auxiliary in 1845.

[2] Victoria: 20 Auxiliaries, 163 Branches; New South Wales: 12 Auxiliaries, 101 Branches; Queensland: 8 Auxiliaries, 17 Branches; Tasmania: 3 Auxiliaries, 64

years the total free contributions amounted to £50,843.[1] In the first decade of the period £23,895 was transmitted on purchase account. The Society's expenditure in connection with Australia and Tasmania was £23,051—£19,622 down to the administrative change of 1897, and £3429 in the last seven years.

Branches; South Australia: 2 Auxiliaries, 101 Branches and depôts; Western Australia: 1 Auxiliary, 9 Branches.

[1] New South Wales, upwards of £20,200; Victoria, £10,680; South Australia, £10,330; Queensland, £5580; Tasmania, £3680; Western Australia, £340.

CHAPTER LXXIII

MADAGASCAR AND MAURITIUS

For two years and a half the clouds of war enveloped Madagascar. Happily the "interim" shilling Bibles which the *Taymouth Castle* had to take on to Mauritius reached Antananarivo in May 1884. But the whole 7000 volumes were bought up instantly; the remaining copies—between 4000 and 5000 — of the large Reference Testament were offered at reduced prices, and promptly sold; and in a few weeks all that remained in depôt was the stock of Portions for school children who had learned to read. The dearth was especially felt in the province of Betsiléo, where "in many instances husband, brother, or son had gone to the war and taken the family Bible with him." The Committee were urgently entreated to send out fresh supplies—"some thousands of copies," not mere handfuls of 400 or 500 which "would be disposed of in five minutes,"—but prudence decided them not to risk the bulk of their Malagasy Scriptures in a single shipment, and the wreck of one vessel on the coast of the island showed that they were well advised. Month by month small consignments were invoiced in the hope that they might safely reach their destination. From time to time some got through, others were delayed in quarantine, the rest went to increase the stores accumulating at Mauritius. One port after another was closed by the blockade, and fresh inlets further and further south had to be sought. These uncertainties, however, resulted in a permanent benefit. One ship, which brought from Mauritius

ninety-two of the cases which had collected there, landed them safely at Mananjára, whence they were conveyed inland to the L.M.S. and Norwegian missionaries at Fianarantsóa, the capital of Betsiléo. One third of the supply was retained for local use and the rest sent on to Antananarivo; but the advantages of direct transit between Betsiléo and the coast, and the saving on the heavy transport charges by the old route had become obvious, and a second Bible committee, representing the southern mission stations, was organised at Fianarantsóa in immediate communication with the Bible House.[1]

The deficiency of Scriptures was so far made good that in 1886-87 the total circulation, north and south, exceeded 25,000 copies. In compliance with repeated requests on behalf of the young, the price of the sixpenny Testament had been reduced to fourpence, and 25,000 copies of the Gospel of St Luke had been voted for gradual free distribution among school children as soon as they were able to read. In no branch of mission work had more distinct progress been made in recent years than in the increased knowledge of the Word of God among the small people of Madagascar. A branch of the Children's Scripture Union, started in 1883 and resumed when hostilities ceased, already included many thousand members.

Meanwhile the first revision of the Malagasy Bible had been finished on the 28th October 1885. The final stage was completed on the 30th April 1887. Twenty-one missionaries and nine native Christians had taken part in the great task; but nearly fourteen years had gone by, and of those who were present at the first session, on 1st December 1873, only three saw it brought to the close — the Rev. W. E. Cousins, reviser-in-chief, the Rev. Lars Nielsen Dahle of

[1] With regard to these transport charges and other incidental expenses, it may be noted that as late as 1895, when the year's sales in the Northern Division (13,067 copies) realised £258, 15s. 6d., the Society received only £5, 7s. 2d., the balance being absorbed by duty on landing, inland carriage, warehousing, etc.

the Norwegian Mission, and the Rev. Josefa Andriánaivoravélona. Josefa was born of a noble family in 1835. Baptized in the semi-darkness of a secret Christian service during a period of fierce persecution, he lived to become pastor of the Third Memorial Church on the brink of Ampámarínana, "the precipice of hurling." Far below, among the cluster of tall peach-trees, one saw the granite rocks on which thirteen native martyrs were dashed to death at the command of Queen Ránaválona I. in 1849. In this church a fervent thanksgiving service was held on the 2nd May, two days after the completion of the revision. Missionaries of the various societies, native pastors, and a large gathering from the town and suburban congregations were present, and the Prime Minister, the Queen's husband, delivered a message of grateful appreciation from her Majesty, Ránaválona III.[1] In the course of the year Mr Cousins was warmly welcomed by the Committee, and it was decided that editions of 8000 Bibles and 25,000 Testaments should be produced without delay under his supervision. The last proof was passed for press on the 4th December 1888, and a few months later the revised version reached Madagascar. For literary services alone it had cost the Society £5483.

Greatly as the volume was desired, the sale of this large-sized Bible was slow—864 copies in three years—and it was principally bought for the churches; but it is to be remembered that 4s., which was the price agreed upon with the missionaries, was equivalent to four times as much in the island. Purchase was a fairer measure of the feeling of the people when the price fell to a figure which was more generally within their means.

An instance of the living spirit which stirred in the churches belongs to this time. Early in 1890, as the result of a letter which told of the scarcity and dearness of the

[1] The good pastor Andriánaivoravélona, who was the author of several beautiful Malagasy hymns, died in 1897.

Scriptures in remote places, a number of young men and women in Antananarivo formed themselves into an association for sending Bibles and Testaments to distant provinces, where they were to be sold at half price. They met monthly, each contributing as much money as he could afford, until December 1891, when it was thought well to hold a public meeting in one of the churches. The matter was brought to the notice of the Queen, who announced her intention to be present, and on the 25th January the great church on the brink of the precipice was filled with 1500 people. In 1892 the little Auxiliary sent a donation of £5 to the Bible House. Twelve months later it numbered 225 members, and the circulation for the year amounted to 1802 Testaments and nearly 100 Bibles, which had been scattered far and wide — among the Sihánaka in the north, the Betsimáraka in the east, and the Sakalava in the west.

In 1892 the revised version was popularised by the issue of a shilling edition, which was seen through the press by the Rev. James Sibree, and was freed from the blemishes of the earlier text. A beautifully bound copy was presented in the name of the Society to Queen Ránaválona. The whole of the first consignment was sold within a few days of its delivery in the capital, and "thousands of people were still eager to obtain copies." Shipments amounting to 10,000 volumes followed in 1893, and these were accompanied by large supplies of the Gospel of St Luke for the school children. Finally the work of revision was crowned by the addition of marginal references, the preparation of which had occupied Miss Helen Gilpin, a granddaughter of Dr Moffat, during the spare moments of sixteen years.

While this first Malagasy reference Bible was passing through the press in 1895, Majunga fell under the guns of the French warships, and the invaders set out on the long fever-stricken march which ended in the occupation of Antananarivo on the 30th September. Thenceforth French

authority was paramount. In the capital and among the Christian congregations the change was accepted as inevitable; but where belief in the old gods prevailed, the people rose in rebellion. It was not simply a revolt against the French, but an outburst of the old heathenism. Beginning in the west of Imérina, the movement swept round that province into the Betsiléo country, and the insurgents wreaked their fury on the foreign faith, whether represented by its European teachers or its native converts. Scores of churches were burned down, villages looted, countless Bibles, Testaments, catechisms and other books torn to shreds and flung into bonfires. Of the Friends' Mission, Mr and Mrs Johnson with their little child were murdered; Mr and Mrs Standing and their children fled in disguise. Mr and Mrs M'Mahon of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel barely escaped with their family. For three days twenty-seven members of the Norwegian Mission were besieged by a murderous horde and were rescued at last by a French force. Many native pastors and evangelists suffered a cruel death, and numbers of the peaceful inhabitants were forced to join the insurgents.

Martial law was proclaimed, and in order to crush the revolt the French commander struck at the Hova leaders. The Queen was deposed and conveyed to Rêunion;[1] her uncle, Prince Ratsimananga, the ex-governor of Tamatave, and several of the most influential men round the capital were tried and executed. Official relations with the English missions, especially with the London Missionary Society, which had gained the chief place of influence in the island, became sternly hostile. The time lent itself to the sinister patriotism of the Jesuits. France was identified with Roman

[1] Thus Madagascar became a French colony; and thus ended with Ránaválona III. the long line of seven and-thirty Hova sovereigns, whose rule seems to have begun about the time that William the Conqueror landed on our own shores. In October 1896, Prince Rakoto, a nephew of the Queen, visited the Bible House, and examined with deep interest the "buried Bible" of the early martyr days of his country. The Queen was eventually removed to Algeria.

Catholicism, Protestantism with England and hostility to France. Favoured by the authorities, the disciples of Loyola used the boldest aggression, the most unscrupulous intimidation. Notwithstanding the proclamations which declared complete liberty of conscience, village churches and schools were seized by the priests; native Christians were warned that Protestantism exposed them to suspicion of disloyalty; reports were spread that persons found in possession of the Scriptures would be shot; native pastors were imprisoned on false charges and suffered the extreme penalty of injustice. In such circumstances it would have been strange if none had fallen away. Yet there were those who, terrorised into temporary submission, took their Testaments to church, and read them while the priest said Mass.

The revolt was quelled by the beginning of 1897. The missionaries were able to convince General Gallieni that their influence in Madagascar was entirely on the side of loyalty to the Republic. A better understanding was established, and some compensation and reparation were made. The Paris Missionary Society, too, had hastened to the support of their hard-pressed co-believers, and dispelled the mischievous pretence that "French" was equivalent to "Roman Catholic." A large number of mission stations and schools were committed to its charge. It succeeded not only in checking the persecution of native Protestants, but in obtaining for the foreign evangelical societies the religious freedom which it claimed for itself.

The year was marked by a quickening of spiritual life. Churches were repaired and rebuilt; Bibles and hymn books, buried during the revolt, were dug up again, but many had been ruined; the large numbers destroyed had to be replaced, and though the people were in the depth of poverty they ordered new copies in the hope of being able to pay for them later. And from far away one heard of the working of the divine Spirit of Truth among the

tribes in the forest-region of the south. In a poverty-stricken village of the Tanála (Forest-dwellers) a native evangelist discovered "the seed of the Kingdom" already sown. He found some children who could read a little and sing a few hymns. One of the tribe, who had somehow gained a little knowledge, had started a school of about twenty small people. His only book was an old torn copy of the Malagasy Bible. There were no slates, no pencils, no lesson books—no money to buy them, had there been any to buy; but the teacher had printed the letters and figures on pieces of wood, and the children learned to spell out the Word of Life.

As time went on the highest French authorities in the island publicly acknowledged the value of the English missions and their frank adhesion to the new *régime*; and French colonial policy gradually relaxed its intimate association with the Jesuit mission. Of all the evangelical organisations the London Missionary Society had suffered most, yet in 1902 the Rev. J. Pearse, who had laboured in Madagascar for nearly forty years, was able to give the assurance that the Malagasy Church had never been stronger, or purer, or more full of promise. "There is a good demand for the Bible," he wrote, "and there were never so many to read it, or who ruled their life and conduct by its precepts, as at the present day. The Hova are still emphatically a Protestant tribe, and the Jesuits make no perceptible headway round Antananarivo, though they have a very large staff in the island." "Whatever else the people do *not* understand," wrote another missionary, "at least the Bible is to them, as to us, the final court of appeal in the matter of faith and morals. . . . That it is so is largely due to the support given to the missions in Madagascar by the Bible Society."[1] In Betsiléo too, where

[1] A sufficient answer to those who, like the *Times* correspondent, declared that "the faith of a Hova is that of a Vicar of Bray," and that "their 'Methodist' religion was but one of the many features of the gigantic Hova sham."—Knight, *Madagascar in War Time*, pp. 253, 316.

the Jesuits were in great force, Dr Borchgrevink of the Norwegian Mission told of a great revival, which could not be traced to the preaching of the Gospel, but was entirely the outcome of the reading of the Holy Scriptures. "Those moved by revival call themselves the Disciples of Jesus, and all of them carry their Bibles with them in a little bag hung round the neck. The Bible is their only teacher; they are very eager in witnessing for Christ, and hold frequent meetings, which are well attended. The revival when started spread very quickly among our churches; later on it reached other missions, even the Roman Catholics."

Little remains to tell. The Reference Bible reached Imérina in 1897, and from that year to the close of the period 100,456 copies of Scripture were sent out to the island. As French was made the school language after the annexation, it seemed doubtful whether the Malagasy version would long continue in circulation; but between 1897 and 1904 editions numbering 88,595 volumes passed through the press.

During the twenty years, the Society printed for Madagascar 60,710 Bibles, 162,086 New Testaments, and 145,206 Portions—in all, 368,002 copies. From 1834, when the Society's first Malagasy edition was printed, the total issue showed 101,045 Bibles, 274,150 Testaments, 371,412 Portions = 746,607 copies.

In addition to the outlay on revision (£2030), there was an expenditure during the period of £2767 on inland transport and the upkeep of depôts. The receipts amounted to £6406; but the cost of production and sea-carriage cannot be distinguished in the general accounts.[1]

Such was the condition of things when the Centenary

[1] Trustworthy statistics do not appear to be available, but Warneck (*Protestant Missions*, p. 224) estimates that "there are to-day (1901) in all Madagascar only 184,000 evangelical natives, a decrease from 209,000 in 1895; on the other hand, the number of scholars has increased from 126,000 to 135,000."

dawned on the great island whose name will ever be associated with the Bible—the Bible which men read in caves and dens and among the rocks on the mountain side; to the truth of which they testified on "the precipice of hurling"; in the joy of which they sang in the fires under the rainbow of the everlasting promise.

Nearer the sunrise by 400 miles lay the beautiful isle of Mauritius, fenced with reef coral and girdled along its shore with a green ribbon of ebony trees and forest reserve. Until 1899 the annual meeting of the Port Louis Auxiliary, with Governor or Commandant, Bishop or Colonial Secretary in the chair, was the most popular gathering of the year; and every year the prayers and hymns in English and French, the addresses in Hindi, Urdu and Tamil, and the report which told of the sale of Scriptures in fourteen or fifteen languages, drew attention to the ever-changing aspect of the population, the continual flux and reflux of mingling races, and the mysterious sowing of the Word of Life which many carried away with them to their distant homes.

St Matthew, translated by the Rev. S. H. Anderson, who was born in Mauritius, and who had ministered for ten years to the Protestant Creoles, was the first Portion published in the *lingua franca* of the island. It appeared in 1885, and before the cases were opened, the whole consignment was bought up—half of it by Bishop Royston for distribution in the Seychelles group, 900 miles away. St Mark and St Luke followed, and by 1893 nearly 9000 copies of the Synoptic Gospels were in circulation. It was a delightful experience to the missionary, whatever tongues he might have mastered, to read one of these little books to the many-coloured crowd around him, and to see its rude dialect light up alike the faces of Creole and Malagasy, Malay and Negro, coolie of Bengal and coolie of Madras, Sinhalese islander and ubiquitous Chinaman. St John

was added in 1896, the Acts appeared in 1900, and at the end of the period 11,664 copies of Scripture in Creole had been printed.

For the second time the Committee placed the Auxiliary on a satisfactory financial basis in 1884; besides the yearly subsidy for colportage, frequent gratis supplies of French and English Bibles and Testaments were sent out; and from 1887 a grant was voted for the support of Biblewomen—three in Mauritius, and one at Mahé (and in the long run another at Praslui) in the Seychelles.

From five to eight colporteurs were employed. They were seen everywhere—at railway stations, in the markets, at the port, where there seemed to be always forty ships of various nationalities. Now their books were displayed on the counter of a Chinaman's *boutique*, now in the shadow of a mimosa hedge. They visited and revisited every town and village and camp on the sugar estates. Men learned that Vishnu was not "better than Christ"; women who had supped sorrow lingered over the words "Blessed are they that mourn," and asked to be told more about the Guru who had spoken these things. It was strange—and yet not strange—how often a saying of one of the colporteurs ended in baptism.

The circulation for the five years 1885-89 was not far from 21,000 copies. Each successive five years showed a steady decline. The nineties brought many troubles: 1891, severe sickness; 1892, a hurricane so destructive to life, buildings, shipping and crops that a relief fund of £12,000 was raised at the Mansion House, and the Government guaranteed a loan of £600,000; 1893, a disastrous fire which burned down the great business houses of Port Louis, and among them the Society's depôt with its stock. Like other sugar-growing countries the island suffered from commercial depression; old friends, too, were passing away, and the Auxiliary found it difficult to enlarge the circle of its

sympathisers and supporters. In 1899 Mauritius was smitten with plague, and for the first time since 1853 there was no annual gathering. When sanitary restrictions were withdrawn, and the Auxiliary next met (19th August 1902, with the Governor, Sir Charles Bruce, in the chair), it was to celebrate its forty-ninth birthday.

During the twenty years between 64,000 and 65,000 copies of Scripture were distributed in Mauritius and the Seychelles. The expenditure of the Society during that time was £3257—£2530 for colportage, and £727 in support of Biblewomen; but with the exception of £100, contributed to the Society's Deficit Fund in 1893, there appears to have been no receipts.

CHAPTER LXXIV

CAPE TOWN TO THE ZAMBESI

We left Dr Hole, the new secretary of the South African Auxiliary, on his great tour. He travelled between 5000 and 6000 miles, and addressed 250 meetings. The audiences, which varied from 1500 to 2000 persons, numbered in the mass (white men and natives) 62,000; and between 19,000 and 20,000 of these were children. Probably one man had never done so much to draw together Christians of all communions, to allay political differences, and to soften the prejudice of colour between the Dutch farmer and his black servants. Commercial depression prevailed in all quarters, but the contributions he received in support of the Society amounted to £765.

And the work of the future was laid out on a broader base. Twenty new Branches were added to Cape Town, eight to Port Elizabeth, and three to Pietermaritzburg; an Auxiliary with six Branches was founded at Queenstown; and for the first time the South African Republic Auxiliary at Pretoria, with four Branches, President Kruger as patron, and the Orange Free State Auxiliary, with President Brand as patron, and fifteen Branches, appeared in the list for 1885. Among the young people, too, enthusiasm had been kindled; Sunday schools joined the Scripture Union, and from time to time one heard of delightful Bible gatherings of children in connection with anniversary meetings.

In 1885, Dr Hole, who had been made an Honorary Life Governor in recognition of his services, resigned

and returned to England. Next year, in September, his successor, the Rev. E. Solomon, an old L.M.S. man, was swept to sudden death by one of the stormy breakers which the Atlantic flings on the granite rocks at Sea Point. The vacancy was filled by the Rev. L. Nuttall. Times were hard, old friends were passing away, but in a little while the South African Auxiliary had cast far out like a net one hundred Branches and Associations. There was scarcely a town of any importance in the colony but had its active Auxiliary; Pretoria had developed into an important Bible centre; at Kimberley the Branch formed by Dr Hole was busy among the numberless adventurers from every part of the world and a changing population of 80,000 natives, while in the wards of the great hospital the Scriptures were read in a score of tongues.

A new agency, the Hannington Colportage Mission, came into play late in 1888. Funds had been collected in Australia, in memory of the martyred Bishop, to equip Cape carts for the circulation of the Word of God among all classes and races on the outskirts of the colony. The Government granted free licences, the Bible Society voted a subsidy of £100 with a 50 per cent. discount on sales, and two colporteurs were sent out under the direction of a small committee. Within a few months the friends in Australia were unable to continue their support, but the work was kept going with the generous aid of the Society, a waggon and oxen were provided by East London and Queenstown, and the colporteurs traversed vast tracts of country, selling from 6000 to 9000 copies a year. In 1893 six were in the field.

In 1891 the Auxiliary advanced another stage towards the Zambesi. The first shipment of Scriptures for the Chartered Company's gold-fields was lost off Beira, but others followed. Bishop Knight-Bruce took out a supply to the new see of Mashonaland; and in 1895, when Lobengula, the son of Moselekatse, was dead and the Matebele Kingdom was

merged in Rhodesia, depôts were opened at Buluwayo, Victoria, Salisbury. The L.M.S. missionaries and the Dutch ministers readily took part in the work, and the concession on the carriage of the books on the Mafeking railway outweighed the advantage of the shorter line by the Beira route. Few at that time were aware that the Society was on the scene of a vanished Christianity, that some two centuries earlier a Christian church stood among the sculptured ruins of Zimbabwe, and that the fragments of that mysterious Phœnician city were perhaps the remains of "the golden Ophir of Solomon."

As the Auxiliary approached the close of its first half-century, South Africa, from Table Bay to Victoria Falls, was raised to the status of an agency of the Society,[1] and Mr Nuttall was placed in charge under the immediate control of the Committee.

The Cape Town jubilee was celebrated in 1896. From that bright summit of time one looked back over the long period of effort and expansion to 1846, when the Auxiliary was reorganised on a broad and permanent basis. The roll of office-bearers bore the names of five Governors as patrons;[2] some of the best men in the country served on its committee; all denominations, and not least effectively the pastors and members of the Dutch Reformed Church, combined to secure its success. It had multiplied the rate of its Scripture distribution sevenfold, and its free gifts and purchase account had increased 380 per cent.[3]

[1] With the exception of the old Auxiliaries, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, the British Kaffrarian, Maritzburg and Natal, which remained for a time independent of the agency.

[2] Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir Henry Barkly, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Hercules Robinson (Lord Rosmead), and Sir Henry Loch.

[3] Its financial progress and growth of circulation are most clearly seen in the following figures for the five decades:—

	Distribution of Scriptures.	Remittances to London.
I. 1846-56 . .	43,214 copies	£4,932
II. 1856-66 . .	56,679 ,,	£7,970
III. 1866-76 . .	76,114 ,,	£11,166
IV. 1876-86 . .	110,000 (nearly)	£14,582
V. 1886-96 . .	303,800 ,,	£24,000 (about)

In all, the South African Auxiliary had added £62,650 to the receipts of the Society, and had scattered far and wide close upon 590,000 copies of the Word of God. If to these were added the supplies sent direct to correspondents, mission stations and the other Auxiliaries, Bible-work in South Africa during the half century had achieved the distribution of at least three-quarters of a million of Bibles, Testaments and Portions in many tongues.

In most districts 1896 was a year of strain and impoverishment, but special exertions were made by the executive and the 188 Branches, Associations and other agencies to signalise the occasion. Some 3000 Reports in English and Dutch, appeals to churches, ministers and missionaries, and many hundreds of circulars were distributed. The Secretary travelled 5600 miles, preaching, lecturing and canvassing for support. At Pretoria President Kruger gave the Society his patronage; General Joubert, who presided at Mr Nuttall's public meeting, headed the subscription list with £15; for the first time Johannesburg appeared among the contributing Branches; and President Steyn became patron at Bloemfontein and presented a donation. The Natal Auxiliaries associated themselves with the commemoration, and at their request Mr Nuttall addressed the annual meetings at Durban and Maritzburg. £1425 was gathered, and £1000 was remitted to the Bible House as the South African jubilee gift.

The new operations in Rhodesia were brought to a standstill by the rising of the Matebele and Mashona after the capture of the Jameson raiders. In Basutoland rinderpest had swept off the cattle and closed the roads against colportage; but good work was done along the railways, in the Diamond Fields, at Vryburg, Mafeking and Johannesburg. On the west coast supplies were sent, chiefly to Dutch settlers, as far away as Mossamedes in Portuguese territory. Nearer home the Bible waggon with its long team of asses

toiled through the Bushman regions to the Copper Mines in Namaqualand. It floundered across dreary flats which a week of thunderstorms turned into leagues of swamp, and here Hottentot guide and driver deserted, with great part of the provisions. It traversed arid tracts—sheep-farms wasted by a three years' drought—where at outspanning hungry natives came with sacks of dried grass, and waited round for what little food could be spared. For three weeks the two colporteurs, unable to get meal or flour, lived on meat, brackish water and coffee. Then they reached mountain pastures where the deep grass was filled with wild flowers, and the thriving farmer would take no payment for five days' entertainment. So, down the pass to Van Rhynsdorf, and on to Springbok and Ookiep. Over 2000 English and Dutch Bibles and Testaments, besides numerous religious publications, were sold during the long journey, and services were held in scattered homesteads and villages hundreds of miles from any railway. Twenty Testaments were given to black shepherds, lonely men who lay with their flocks beside some distant spring, and saw no human face for weeks together. Everywhere at the Boer farms the colporteurs were welcomed with an old-world simplicity which recalled the days of the Patriarchs. They did not meet a Boer who could not read. In almost every homestead after the evening meal the Boer produced from his treasure chest the old Dutch Bible, perhaps an heirloom of persecuted forefathers, which had preserved one generation after another from sinking to the level of the savage tribes around them. The cheapness of the Society's books was a wonder: "Why, we paid 10s. or 18s. for what you are selling at half a crown!" Sometimes men rode in eighteen miles for the Scriptures when they heard the Bible waggon was passing. But in very many places there was no currency, and the Scriptures were paid for in feathers and skins, or the colporteurs went on their way with a small flock of sheep.

The circulation of the year, the largest yet recorded, was 41,795 copies—19,950 in Dutch, 14,055 in English, 7600 in South African and 190 in other foreign tongues; and the total receipts came to £4087.

This happy close of a half-century was the brilliant inauguration of a new period. In 1897, despite political excitement, straitened finances, and the loyal demonstrations which greeted the sixtieth year of Queen Victoria's reign, the circulation rose to 42,889 copies. The total income of the Auxiliary was £4768—"an amount beyond anything previously received or expected"; and £1200 was forwarded to the Society as a free contribution. Drought, disease, commercial depression darkened the prospects of 1898, but receipts and circulation (44,009 copies) were larger than ever. The returns of the colporteurs fell little short of 10,000 copies. The British Kaffrarian and the old organisations at Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and East London had become Branches of the South African, which now numbered thirty-seven Branches in the Orange Free State and seventeen in the Transvaal, operated through 250 agencies of all kinds, and had extended its range to Rhodesia and along the east coast as far as the Zambesi. Still independent, the Auxiliaries at Durban and Pietermaritzburg had joined in a scheme of colportage away from the beaten tracks in "the pleasant land of Natal."

Here, at the eventful year of 1899, we pause to bring the story of the South African versions up to date.

The revision of the Xosa (Kaffir) Bible, begun at the instance of the Committee in 1868, was concluded in 1887. The text had borne the scrutiny of every mission in the field, and Genesis, the Psalms, St Matthew and the Acts had been tentatively issued as the work proceeded. Of the original revision board Mr Appleyard and Tiyo Soga, the first Xosa pastor, had been called away, but the Rev. A. Kropf had attended every sitting. Under his supervision

The Rev. F. Langham

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an edition of 3000 Bibles and 5000 Testaments was printed at home in 1888-89. In 1892, 10,000 New Testaments left the press. At King William's Town, among the Lovedale stations, and elsewhere "the Kaffir Scriptures sold amazingly"; and as there was an eager demand for a more portable volume, a copy of the revised text was corrected by Dr Bryce Ross of the Free Church of Scotland, and an edition of 10,000 was produced by photo-process in 1892. This was followed by one of 10,000 in 1898, and another of 5000 in 1899, which raised the aggregate issues of the Kaffir Scriptures to 90,695 copies. Meanwhile the final revision, which was to give the version its definite form, claimed the usual toll of zeal and faculty. Dr Bryce Ross, "the head and heart of the board," died in December 1897. "The best Kaffir scholar that ever lived," thought Dr Kropf, whose own hearing and sight were failing him. The task was completed in 1899, but many of the natives still "clamoured" for the old Appleyard version, which was not yet to be wholly superseded.

For a number of years opinions were divided as to the system of orthography to be used in the Sechuana Scriptures. Pending settlement 10,000 copies of the Bible of 1877 were printed at the request of the Bechuana district committee, under the editorship of the Rev. John Mackenzie, in 1890. A slightly corrected pocket New Testament, which was issued in 1891, sold rapidly, and became the daily companion of the people at their work and on their journeys. Another impression appeared in 1892, and a revised edition in 1894 —30,000 copies in four years.[1] In 1894, in the hope that they would suffice for the different missions until the work of revision had been completed, 5000 Bibles were produced by photo-process. In 1897 the Rev. Roger Price (Moffat's son-in-law), the Rev. John Brown, and the

[1] In September 1895 the Bechuana chiefs, Khama, Sebele and Bathven, visited the Bible House.

Rev. A. J. Wookey were intrusted with the final revision of the Sechuana text; but between that year and the beginning of 1899, 10,000 portable Bibles and an equal number of New Testaments were published on the initiative of the London Missionary Society.

Stagnation of trade and depreciation of produce were so severely felt in Basutoland that in 1885 the price of the Scriptures was left largely to the discretion of the French missionaries. These were busy extending their out-stations, so that the Gospel might reach to the uttermost tribal villages hidden in the eastern mountains. Beyond their boundaries, too, Sesuto depôts were kept in Cape Colony and the Orange Free State, on the Diamond Fields and the Transvaal gold-reefs, whither thousands of Basutos migrated for work. Once more in 1887 the Dutch Reformed Church decided to use colporteurs among the Free State natives, and Mr Mabille provided a stock of books. In 1888 the New Testament, with a few corrections, left the press in an edition of 3000, and 10,000 followed a year later. The demand was quickened in 1890 by the aggressive course of the Roman Catholic mission. The heathen came in numbers to the chapels on Sundays, and met willingly in their villages to listen to the Gospel.[1] From 1885 to 1892 Mr Mabille forwarded sale-receipts amounting to £500. But money became still scarcer; drought and a plague of locusts reduced the land to starvation. Many lived on roots and wild berries, and two unhappy women, maddened by hunger, were known to have each killed a child. Still the cry rose for the Word of Life, and in 1893 another 10,000 Testaments were ready.

Early that year, in a letter to Mr Edwards, the *doyen* of the home district staff, Mr Mabille described his work at

[1] According to the census of 1891 the Paris Evangelical Mission claimed an average Sunday attendance of 13,450 against 1860 at Roman Catholic places of worship, and 1080 at the missions of the Church of England.—Lucas, *British Colonies*, p. 68.

Morija. When he was appointed in 1860 there was a congregation of 400. Out of it two large churches had since been taken, and there still remained 1400 communicants and about 900 candidates for baptism. He had now the direction of twenty-four out-stations, an Evangelists' school, five-and-twenty day schools, a printing-press, at which he had produced one by one all the books of the Sesuto Bible except the Psalter. His two sons were missionaries among the Basutos, three of his daughters taught at Morija; "so we are all in the work." "I wonder whether you will remember what happened at the close of one of your Bible meetings at Bowness, Windermere, in 1855!" (Mabille, a young Swiss, at that time teaching in Charles Binns's school at Kendal, had gone over, with the bigger lads belike, to hear the fervid Edwards. He had thoughts, it seems, of the ministry in French Switzerland, but no leaning to heathen missions.) "Tapping me on the shoulder, you asked me whether I would not follow Christ into the heathen mission-field. These words of yours were the turning-point in my life." It was a veritable laying-on of hands! His heart had gone forth to the China of which Edwards had spoken, but his future was marked out in South Africa. In recognition of long and eminent service, Mabille's name appeared on the roll of Honorary Foreign Members in the Report for 1894. The next Report contained the notice of his sudden death.

He was succeeded at Morija by his brother-in-law, the Rev. A. Casalis, who started a scheme of colportage which was given up in 1897 on account of the spread of rinderpest from Rhodesia. Mabille's corrected copy of the Sesuto Scriptures served as a basis of work for a board of revision which was set apart by the Paris Evangelical Society. The Rev. E. Jacottet returned home in 1896 with the completed text; in the following year 3000 Bibles were printed under his care, and in 1899 appeared 3000 more, with an edition of a Reference New Testament.

Three new languages carry us from the Transvaal eastward to the border of Zululand. In 1888 the Committee undertook the publication of the New Testament in Sepedi, the common tongue of the Bakatla, Belobedu, Bakanoa, and other tribes in the north of the Transvaal. An edition of 3050 copies appeared in 1890, and the supplies sent out were gladly received by the natives and the Berlin missionaries, whose congregations alone numbered 12,000 souls. The translator, the Rev. C. Knothe, died shortly afterwards, and later work was handled by the Berlin Mission.[1]

In 1888, too, the Committee welcomed the news of the Four Gospels translated by the brothers Paul and Henri Berthoud of the Swiss *Mission Romande* into Gwamba, which was said to be spoken by a million people in the Spelonken and Bokaha districts of the Transvaal, the Limpopo basin and the neighbourhood of Lorenzo Marquez; but it was not until 1892 that 1513 copies of Luke and the Acts left the press, and two years later the entire New Testament was independently printed by the Mission. "Gwamba" was afterwards ascertained to be the speech of the Amatonga, and the name was corrected to Thonga. The Committee consented in 1898 to publish the whole Thonga Bible, but at that date the translation had only reached the Books of Samuel. In the meantime, the Rev. H. A. Junod of Lorenzo Marquez had translated St John and the 1 Corinthians into Ronga, and a small edition was printed in Switzerland for the Society in 1896. That language, which prevailed from Lorenzo Marquez to the Zulu border, was a Thonga dialect, but so different as to need a version of its own.

Arrangements were made with the American Bible Society in 1889 for the use of their Zulu version, and a steady demand sprang up for the new issue, which travelled far, for supplies were sent to the Bishop of St Helena for the use of Dinizulu

[1] In December 1903, 5000 partly-printed Sepedi Bibles were offered to the Committee, but the financial proposals in regard to them fell through.

and the malcontent chiefs who had been banished to the island.

We cross the continent to the northern wilds of Damaraland, where, at Adonga in Ovambo, 400 miles from the Atlantic waters, the Finnish Missionary Society of Helsingfors had been labouring since 1870. The language, first known as Ovambo, then as Ndonga, had been reduced to writing, and in 1891 the Committee bore the cost of printing the first Scripture Portion, the Gospel of St Matthew. For another tribe of the Ovambo St Luke had been translated with the assistance of native pupils. The language was Kuànyama; the translator, the Rhenish missionary, the Rev. P. H. Brincker, whose Herero Testament and Psalter had been published by the Committee over fifteen years earlier. A tentative edition of Luke was issued in 1894; Mark and John followed, and the issue of the Four Gospels was completed in 1896.

Fifteen years had gone by since Krönlein's Nama version of the Bible was laid aside. Bound in skin and preserved in a metal box, the MS. which represented so much patient scholarship was sent to the Bible House in 1897. Competent judges advised its publication for the benefit of 50,000 Nama or Khoikhoi tribesmen in Namaqualand and Ovambo, and in 1899 the Book of Genesis was ordered for press. But here the record ceases, and silence falls once more on Krönlein's labours.

In addition to these versions a beginning was made in the languages of the Matebele and Mashona, of which something will be said later.

Such, in broad outline, was the condition of Bible-work in South Africa when President Kruger threw down the gauntlet, and the Boer War began on the 11th October 1899. To the Society, with its Auxiliaries and Branches spreading from the Cape and Natal through the Orange Free State and the Transvaal to Rhodesia, the outbreak seemed almost

a civil war. Moved by feelings that lay deeper than political bitterness or racial differences, it hastened to give its services to Dutch and British alike. Copies of the Scriptures, pocket Testaments, in particular the Gospel of St John, were freely distributed at Aldershot, Portsmouth, Colchester, Chatham, Plymouth, among the troops drafted to South Africa. A specially bound New Testament, bearing the stamp "C.I.V.," was presented to each of the fifteen hundred of "the Lord Mayor's Own." Up to 31st March 1900, 126,000 volumes—over two-thirds the gifts of the Committee—left our shores, and field editions "in khaki cloth" introduced a new word into the Bible catalogues. Stirred by the same spirit, the Auxiliaries overseas saw to the spiritual equipment of the contingents which sailed from Canada, New Zealand, Australia and Colombo; the native bearers from South India were supplied with the Word of Life in their own tongues both from London and Madras; and the American hospital-ship *Maine* was provided with copies in Dutch and English.

In South Africa every effort was made by the Auxiliaries to minister to the sick, the wounded, the prisoners of war, the refugees, irrespective of race and party. Through the good offices of the United States Consul at Lorenzo Marquez large consignments reached Pretoria; the hospitals at Wynburg and De Aar received supplies in Dutch, English, and nearly a score of other languages. Cases of Scripture were sent out to the Boer prisoners on the transports in Simon's Bay and the ships bound for St Helena. The guarded camps at Cape Town were visited by the Society's agent. "At the request of their chaplain," wrote Mr Nuttall, "I addressed a few words to them in English, while he interpreted. 'The British and Foreign Bible Society has sent you these precious books with the hope and prayer that God's Word may comfort and counsel you in this time of need;' and I spoke other words of sympathy and

advice, until both they and I with them wept together. Then an old Boer rose, with tears in his eyes, to thank the Bible Society's secretary for coming to see them, and the Society for sending God's Word to them. It made their hearts glad, he said, to see that there were people who thought of them at the present time." So, with many a hand-shake and earnest "Thank you!" they parted.

The terrible drama unrolled its tragic sequence: Spion Kop was lost, Cronje surrendered, Ladysmith was relieved, the British flag flew over Bloemfontein. When the date of the Cape Town anniversary came round—12th May 1900—the bitterness of the struggle had forced a cleavage between the very Churches of Christ. But once more the Society proved itself a power for reconciliation and united action. Extremists of both parties held aloof rather than meet each other, but the large-hearted impartiality of the Home Committee in caring for the Boer sick and wounded and especially for the prisoners of war broke down any antagonism to the Bible Society. The revered president, Dr Andrew Murray, was in the chair. Touching addresses were delivered by the ex-Moderator of the Dutch Church and the chaplain to the Burgher prisoners in Cape Town; and the tact and good feeling of Colonel Seton Churchill redeemed the khaki uniform even in the eyes of those who had little love for the British soldier in South Africa.

During the twelve months from the outbreak of hostilities, and in the area of the South African Auxiliary alone, 837 Bibles and 21,865 Testaments and Portions were distributed among the British and Burgher forces, including the sick and wounded, and 3614 Bibles and 5819 Testaments and Portions were placed in the hands of Boer prisoners: a total of 31,505 copies. And still the deplorable strife continued, till one lost count of the movements of troops,[1] of the

[1] On the *Kildonan Castle* alone, in the course of seven voyages on transport-service to the Cape, the commander circulated among the troops 4318 New Testaments and Gospels.

consignments of Scriptures distributed in the hospital wards, among the crowds of women and children in the concentration laagers, the Boer refugees in Portugal, the thousands of prisoners in the camps of St Helena, in the Bermudas, in Ceylon, at Ahmednagar, Bellary, Trichinopoly, Shahjehanpur, Ambala, Sialkot. The resentment of many a dour heart was assuaged, the last hours of many an exile were solaced by this gracious sympathy. In the wards at Dyatalawa "the little book" was found under the pillow after the last sleep; at Bellary the Burghers asked that the "Bible minister" should speak to them at their service parade; from Bermuda came many letters of gratitude and quaint bits of handicraft in friendly greeting.

With more than half its depôts closed, the South African Auxiliary strove to maintain its position. In the three distressful years its sales did not fall below 35,800 copies, and £900, £500 and £550—in great part contributed by Dutch friends and supporters—were sent home as free gifts. For ordinary work the Boer Republics were inaccessible, but even here, on the grim stage of war, there were strange manifestations of the power of the Bible. Again and again as the troops came to a native village, an officer in the suite of Lord Roberts was amazed at the sight of the dusky elders seated in the centre of the place reading the Bible, while their people were gathered round them to listen. In the later guerilla excursions one read of a colporteur captured by Boers, his horses seized, his books to the value of £20 or £30 burned, himself released at last and left to find his way over forty miles of veldt to a friendly roof. But, as a rule, the Society was everywhere known and esteemed. "Have we not deceived ourselves," said a well-known Ladybrand burgher to his countrymen beyond the Orange River, "by thinking that we were alone God's people, and therefore expecting that God will help us alone? . . . Do you want me to say that we alone made the New Covenant with Jesus

Christ, God's Son? Then I remind you to look on the inside of the cover of your Dutch Bible. There you will find these words: 'Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society, Queen Victoria Street, London.'" And in the colony, at places in the midst of a Dutch population, Mr Nuttall, eager to use every opportunity of conciliation, was met in the same spirit.

On the proclamation of peace (31st May 1902) the work of reconstruction was begun. The sales of the year exceeded 66,000 copies; the free contribution rose to £871; among the new subscribers were Lord Milner and Mr Cecil Rhodes, whose gift was sent in only the day before he died. Fresh energy was infused into the Auxiliaries at Pietermaritzburg and Durban, which had combined in a splendid local effort to meet the exigencies of the war.

To the great satisfaction of all denominations, a new agency, with a strong consultative committee and the Rev. George Lowe, a well-known Wesleyan minister as secretary, was founded at Johannesburg for Central South Africa. The new division comprised the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, the Bechuana Protectorate, Swaziland and Rhodesia. A depôt was opened, the Cape Railway granted the privilege of reduced fares, and distribution began on Christmas Eve 1902. The Sechuana Scriptures were bought up on the day they arrived; 2291 Bibles and Testaments were sold by a colporteur; and the circulation of the first year was 24,430 copies in thirteen languages.[1]

Though the territory of the South African Auxiliary was thus reduced by vast tracts of brightening Bible countries,[2] there was scarcely any shrinkage in its operations. The

[1] Exclusive of the touching gift of the Society of Friends—5000 handsome Dutch family Bibles, to replace those lost or destroyed in the course of the war. The distribution was undertaken by the Auxiliaries, and 200 volumes were placed in Dutch homes in Cape Colony.

[2] In 1896 the sales in the Boer States amounted to 23,000 copies in Dutch, English and native languages, and the free contributions to the South African Auxiliary to £358.

issues of 1903 numbered 65,600 copies (33,939 in Dutch, 11,512 in English, and 21,188 in native tongues), and the free gift sent to the Bible House was £976. In this last year of the period the president of the Auxiliary, Dr Andrew Murray, the revered leader of the Dutch Reformed Church, was enrolled a Vice-President of the Parent Society. Mr Nuttall resigned on account of ill-health, and after a brief tenure of office by the Rev. J. F. Botha and the Rev. R. O. Walker, was succeeded by the Rev. G. P. van der Merwe, a gifted minister of the Dutch Reformed Church.

From year to year considerable supplies had been forwarded to the missionary societies, and progress had been made with version work.

Whatever its shortcomings, Appleyard's translation was to thousands "the old Kaffir Bible." In response to a strong appeal for a faithful reprint a substantial edition was issued in 1902. Protests were received from Dr Kropf and a few others, but the entreaty of 30,000 people could not be ignored. Of the revised version an edition was produced by photo-process in 1902, and the "definitive" edition of the New Testament was seen through the press by Dr Kropf in the Centenary Year. The Society's aggregate printings in Xosa came to 80,452 Bibles, 78,844 Testaments, and 1400 Portions = 160,696 copies.

In these closing years the printing of 10,000 Bibles and 3000 Testaments raised the Society's Sechuana Scriptures to 121,730 volumes. Mr Price did not live long to share in the revision, but when the war was over Mr Wookey returned to Kuruman, the Committee provided funds for the employment of native teachers in the work, and the revised Psalter in the new spellings passed through the press in 1903.

In 1900 over 11,000 Sesuto Testaments were printed. The text, meanwhile, was carefully scrutinised in Basutoland for mistakes and blemishes; some 500 corrections were made in the plates, and editions in various sizes of 14,800 Bibles

and 37,000 Testaments brought the aggregate of Sesuto to 134,644 copies. The language, as we have seen, was carried far into the north by Sebituane's conquest of Barotse-land, where M. Coillard of the Basuto French Mission had settled among a kindly people. The king, Lewanika, was not a professed Christian, but he had abolished sorcery, infanticide, slavery and the drink traffic. He encouraged the French missionaries, attended public worship, and read the Bible with his family and his chiefs. In June 1902, during the Coronation festivities, he and his sons and his ngambela (prime minister) were received by a distinguished company at the Bible House, and the Earl of Aberdeen, a Vice-President, presented him, in the name of the Society, with a Bible in English, and one in Sesuto bound in blue leather ornamented with gold, and inscribed with an illuminated record of the occasion of his visit. "The Gospel is everything!" exclaimed Lewanika, when he summed up to his people the impression made by the Christian institutions of England. "The missionaries told me this was the case; now I have seen it. Barotse, let us come out of our darkness, our ancient heathenism. Come and hear the teachings of our missionaries, come on Sunday, send your children to school, that we too may be men."

The Swiss *Mission Romande*, it will be remembered, printed independently an edition of the Thonga New Testament. As their stock ran out the Committee arranged about the end of the Centenary Year for an edition to be printed at Lausanne under the editorship of the Rev. A. Thomas.[1] In Ronga the Four Gospels had been translated in 1898; the whole Testament was completed, and 4000 copies were printed in 1903; and just as the period closed the MS. of the Psalter, which had been returned to Lorenzo Marquez for revision, reached Lausanne ready for the printers.

[1] Mr Thomas, who had mastered the language during seventeen years' residence and translated great part of the Old Testament, was engaged in 1904 to complete the version and see the whole Bible through the press.

In Ovamboland tentative editions of the Four Gospels and Acts, printed by the mission, were tested by use among the native converts, whose number had increased from 150 in 1887 to 827 in 1890, and 4000 Ndonga New Testaments were issued by the Society in 1903. In 1902 appeared the Acts and the First Epistle of John in Kuànyama, towards the cost of which Dr Brincker himself generously contributed.

We now come to the Matebele version, which takes us back to old times. In 1859, two years after his visit to Moselekatse, Moffat accompanied the Rev. William Sykes and the Rev. T. Morgan Thomas to the proposed mission-field in Matebeleland. After many unpleasant experiences of the caprice of the savage chief, they were assigned the valley and fountain of Inyati, and there they settled. Mr Thomas's connection with the London Missionary Society ceased in 1872, but he returned to Matebeleland, and died at Shiloh in 1884. For twenty years he had been engaged on the translation of the New Testament. He finished it the day before his last illness, and his wife soothed the anxiety of his dying hours with the promise that his labour should not be wasted. She spent £100, the savings of many years, on the publication of 500 copies. Only three were sold; fifteen were given away; the rest, stored in a strong box at Shiloh, were carried off and used for martial headgear by the Matebele braves in the revolt of 1896. The Rev. J. Laing of Durban heard of the matter, and sent what was perhaps the only surviving copy to the Bible House. The copyright was purchased by the Committee, and the Gospel of Luke was printed and sent out to Buluwayo for revision, but the miscarriage of many of the proofs greatly delayed its publication. In the meantime it appeared that Mr Sykes, who died at Inyati in 1887, had left translations of Matthew and Mark. The former had been printed during a visit to Cape Town in 1884. It was now revised, and 1000 copies were issued in 1901. Mark was under revision, and Luke was almost

ready when it was decided to issue an interim edition of Thomas's New Testament (5000 copies) and another 500 of Matthew to meet the pressing needs of the London Missionary Society.

In 1897 the Committee took up the Mashona version. St Mark, translated by the Rev. John White of the Wesleyan Mission, appeared in 1898, and the whole 500 copies were sold out in two days. St Matthew, 1000 copies—"for every month an increasing number of Mashona were learning to read"—was published in 1901 and distributed among the Wesleyan, Anglican, and American Methodist Missions and the Salvation Army. The Gospel of St John, and Matthew and Mark revised, were issued in 1903 (3030 copies), and the translation of Genesis was making progress.

And yet two other tongues signalled, like distant camp-fires, the advance of the pioneers of the Gospel. On the western borders of Matebeleland proper, the Makalaña lived between Gwai River and Lake Ngami. The victorious Matebele had divided them from their once near kinsfolk the Mashona. Still further west dwelt the Vakaranga, and the conquerors had thrust between them and the Makalaña. In 1904 the Committee published an edition of St Matthew in Kalaña, translated by the Rev. G. Cullen H. Reed of the London Missionary Society, and proofs of the Four Gospels, Acts, Philippians and Thessalonians, translated by missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church, were in process of revision. The whole of the New Testament had also been translated by Dutch Reformed ministers into Karanga, and Matthew and Mark appeared in 1904.

Thus in the twenty years the operations of the Society were extended to the Zambesi and beyond. Nine new native languages (23,957 copies) were added to the list of versions. The native issues of the preceding period were increased by 302,831 volumes, besides 52,574 Bibles, Testaments and Portions in Zulu. In all, the Society printed in fifteen

South African tongues an aggregate of 506,600 copies of Scripture. Of the distribution of Dutch and English no record is available.

The total circulation of the South African Auxiliary from 1846 was some 969,000 copies. During the last twenty years it sent £13,095 in free contributions to the Bible House, and during the decade 1884-93 (when the separate figures cease) its purchase account amounted to £16,804. The receipts from the rest of South Africa appear to have been between £5000 and £6000.

CHAPTER LXXV

EXPANSION IN WEST AFRICA

FROM the Gambia River to the Congo, a coast-line of over 2500 miles, the missionary enterprises of all nations depended for the most part on the Society for supplies of the Word of God. Consignments in many languages besides the African vernaculars were despatched to the various fields as they were required. Greek and Hebrew books for the use of students told of the growth of native Churches; English Bibles and Testaments for mission schools, of the negro's advance in education; while Scriptures in a dozen European tongues indicated the medley of white settlers who had ascended the great equatorial rivers into the interior. The movement and colour of life in this period must have been deeply interesting, but the missionaries were too busy to be good correspondents. Few were long in the same place; many were here to-day, invalided or buried to-morrow; and their letters, generally of the briefest, seldom touched on the details of Bible-work, or even noted the vast changes brought about by national rivalries and developments of commerce.

For ten or twelve years, then, there was little to record. In Sierra Leone, one dimly apprehends that a recurrence of the old denominational troubles, or some new difference, seriously affected the efficiency of the Auxiliary. The depôt stocks were allowed to run down, and direct applications were received at the Bible House from mission schools

which could not obtain on the spot the Scriptures they needed. Up to 1890 the free contributions did not amount to £42, and the depôt account scarcely reached £156. In January that year the Rev. F. Clemens of the Moravian Missions visited West Africa in the interests of the Society. He was warmly received by the Rev. W. Cockill, the Wesleyan secretary, who accompanied him from Bathurst to Freetown, where Bishop Ingham made him his guest. A representative conference of five European and nine African clergymen was convened by the Bishop, and a further meeting was arranged, but Mr Clemens fell so dangerously ill that he had to return home at once. Still, as the result of his initiative, a Bible Sunday was observed in all the churches the following year, and the Auxiliary was revived at a largely attended meeting. Up to 1894 Scriptures were purchased to the value of about £148, and at Freetown a small Association of children under twelve years was begun; but once more the Auxiliary lapsed into silent decay. In the meantime, however, the C.M.S. missionaries at Port Lokkoh made important additions to the Temne version.[1] Exodus, by the Rev. J. Mankah and the Rev. J. A. Alley, was published in 1891. The Pentateuch, completed by Mr Alley, appeared in 1893, and two years later the historical books Joshua–Esther passed through the press.

The Fanti Testament, it will be remembered, was translated in 1883 as far as the Epistles of St John. It was intended for the use of the Wesleyan Mission whose district, extending 300 miles along the Gold Coast and half that distance inland, included 267 chapels and preaching stations, 495 agents, nearly 6000 church members and an attendance of 23,600 worshippers. An edition of the Four Gospels was begun in 1885, but owing to the time taken by

[1] The New Testament, Genesis and the Psalms were in circulation in the preceding period.

the transmission of proofs, it was not finished until 1888, and in that year the Book of Genesis, translated by a board of ministers and laymen, and edited by the Rev. W. Cannell, principal of Cape Coast High School, also left the press. The first complete Fanti New Testament—eagerly awaited by the people—was published in 1896.[1] Before this point had been reached, however, an Auxiliary, which might have taken shape some years earlier but for the deadly effect of the climate, was formed at Cape Coast Castle in February 1890 at an enthusiastic meeting of eight hundred people. Five years later the Committee received a donation of £50 from a friend for the extension of Bible-work in the Chama country, with which he had trade relations; and as the prospect of colportage among the Fantis in this region and the Prah Valley was hopeful, the amount was devoted to a tentative effort.

The first gathering ever held at Accra in aid of the Society took place in 1894, and a hearty resolution was passed thanking the Society for the Scriptures in Gâ and Otshi. How effectually the Divine Book had subdued the fiery temperament of these negro tribes was seen a couple of years later, when the Land Bill of the Gold Coast Government was defeated by the natives. "Sixty years ago," said a speaker at an Auxiliary meeting, "we should have fought the matter out with guns, and much blood would have been shed. But the Bible has taught us better methods. Yes, the Bible has saved the Gold Coast!"

The first Gospel in Gu, Gunu or Popo, the language of Dahomey, was the result of a generous offer made by a Nottingham friend.[2] The native translator completed St Matthew in 1884, but printing was delayed till 1886 by loss of part of the MS. in the wreck of the *Senegal*. In 1888 Matthew and Mark were "received with an ecstasy of joy

[1] The translator, the Rev. A. W. Parker, who had been born in the darkness of fetich-worship, was enrolled as an Honorary Foreign Member of the Society in 1894.

[2] *See* vol. iv. pp. 118-119. The language is classed as an Ewé dialect, and is said to be a compound of Anto (Ewé proper) and Accra or Gâ.

and read with gladness"; and a year later the Four Gospels and the Psalms were in circulation. The Acts and the Pauline Epistles — which like the earlier books were seen through the press by the Rev. J. Rhodes — appeared in 1890. Upwards of 1000 volumes had then been in circulation, and had proved "an incalculable blessing." Meanwhile Porto Novo had been saved by the French from a Dahomian invasion, and the Amazons of the City of Skulls had shattered their strength on the French squares; the flag of the Republic had been hoisted, and the red sequel of three years of conquest had begun. Horrible as warfare must ever be, it was a lesser evil than the blood-drenched fetichism of this barbarous race. "Dahomey," wrote Mr Rhodes in 1892, "remains unhumbled, its power intact, its habits unchanged; it is daring, reckless, cruel as ever; attacking its neighbours right and left to secure human victims for the 'Grand Custom' to be shortly celebrated for the lately deceased King Gelele."[1] In the course of that year the New Testament was welcomed "with grateful gladness by the Christians of Porto Novo," and in 1895 Genesis was published.

The Old Testament in Yoruba, edited by the devoted Hinderer, was finished in 1884. A joint committee of C.M.S. and Wesleyan missionaries was formed at Lagos two years later for the revision of the New Testament; and an edition of 10,000, begun in 1887 under the care of the Rev. N. Johnson, was completed in 1889, together with the first volume of another revised edition of the Old Testament. It was the eleventh year of the Lagos Auxiliary; the Chief Justice of the colony presided at the anniversary meeting; the juvenile gathering numbered 1300 children; and the free contributions for the year amounted to £120

[1] In this instance three human victims and several animals were despatched as messengers to announce the funeral orgies of the King to the phantoms in the land of the dead.—*See* vol. iv. p. 112.

—a practical evidence of Christian life amid scenes which had been associated for ages with barbarism, slavery and bloodshed.

At the Bible House on the 10th January 1890 one seemed to hear the cry from ancient river and palmy plain as Bishop Crowther, presiding over a prayer meeting, spoke of his early years, and of his labours among the negroes and Moslems of West Africa, and again and again emphasised the conclusion—"How could all this have been done without the Bible Society?"[1]

In the wide regions of the Niger Mission, also, there was progress to report. At the meeting in June 1885 Archdeacon Henry Johnson, another African Churchman, presented to the Committee the manuscript of the Four Gospels in Nupé, which he had just completed, and before he returned to his field the University of Cambridge marked its appreciation of his linguistic work by conferring upon him the degree of M.A. In 1886 two Gospels were in circulation at Lokoja, and in the year following St Luke and St John, slightly revised, were reprinted under the care of Dr J. F. Schön.

The Archdeacon had also announced the translation of the whole of the New Testament into Igbira, the language of some 30,000 people on the lower reaches of the Tshadda and about its confluence with the Niger. Revision, however, was needed, and it was not until 1891 that St Matthew was brought home and seen through the press by the Rev. Pythias Williams.

Work was also done in two of the Ibo dialects, but of these we shall speak later.

[1] It was the Bishop's last visit. He died at Lagos 31st December 1891, and was buried beside his mother and his wife. "For seventy years," writes the most brilliant of mission historians, "his career had been unique. A kidnapped slave in 1821; a rescued slave in 1822; a mission schoolboy in 1823; a baptized Christian in 1825; a college student in 1826; a teacher in 1828; a clergyman in 1843; a missionary to the country whence he had been stolen in 1845; the founder of a new mission in 1857; the first negro Bishop in 1864:—where is the parallel to such a life?" (Stock, *History of Church Missionary Society*, vol. iii, p. 396.) It symbolised the heritage which the Bible had made free to the African.

The project of organisation, so abruptly ended by the illness of Mr Clemens, was resumed in 1896. More clearly than ever the Committee recognised a need beyond the power of workers already burdened with many duties and haunted by the dangers of a treacherous climate. There had sprung up a large native population which knew English; along the coast were scattered traders and civil and military officers from many European nations; finally the problems of vernacular work had grown more numerous and perplexing. Only by direct contact could these matters be dealt with effectively. With the hearty consent of the Methodist Conference, the Rev. C. R. Johnson of Lagos was appointed agent for West Africa from the Gambia to the Congo.

His enthusiasm and energy carried all before him. Reaching Sierra Leone a few days before Christmas, he found himself in the midst of "a Bible famine." At Freetown and the surrounding villages the news of his arrival brought up such eager crowds that in three weeks his whole stock of Scriptures was exhausted. First one, then four depôts were opened in Freetown, and another at Sherboro. Import duty was remitted by the Legislative Council. The Auxiliary was aroused by the memory of its first fervour of eighty years ago. People recalled the names of Granville Sharp and Wilberforce, the founding of the colony, the coming of the emancipated slaves from Nova Scotia—how when they landed they raised the glad strain,

> "Awake, and sing the song
> Of Moses and the Lamb,"

marched towards the thick forest with their coloured preachers bearing the Holy Bible before them, and thanked God on their knees for bringing them in safety to the land of their forefathers. Arrangements were made for annual sermons and public meetings, and the joint use of the Scripture Union colporteur, while in more distant villages resident ministers and catechists were appointed sub-agents.

At Bathurst a new Auxiliary was formed and a depôt opened; and Mr Johnson attended the first Bible meeting held for many years—a large and enthusiastic gathering which had been prepared by special sermons preached in the Protestant churches. Pastors and people had a vivid sense of what they owed to the Bible. "Many years ago," said one African minister on the platform, "there were landed in Sierra Leone from a British man-of-war a number of African men and women recaptured from a slave-ship. They stood in the barrack-yard, poor miserable creatures, with no clothing on them but the chains fastened round their necks and feet. My father was one of them! My mother was one of them! They were idolaters; they worshipped images, and bowed down to wood and stone!"

Supplies of Scriptures were sent to Monrovia and Cape Mount in Liberia. The Cape Coast Auxiliary was re-organised in February 1897, and in the summer a strong Auxiliary, with the Governor, Sir W. Maxwell, as president,[1] was formed at Accra. From the depôt there, which was in charge of the Basel missionaries, many hundreds of copies went forth yearly, and were carried inland as far as Kumassi, where the undaunted Ramseyer still preached Christ under the Kum tree.[2] At the remoter Basel stations, Abokobi, Aburi, Akropong, Larté, the agent urged the claims of the Society, and noted in the wooden crosses of the little grave-yards a reminder of the cost at which heathenism had been so far driven out.

The Yoruba Auxiliary at Lagos had alone withstood the shocks of climate and time. Its free contributions had long averaged £130 a year, and part of its later income was the gift of churches in the interior, where the Gospel had been unknown a decade earlier. The mission was a living power,

[1] He died of fever, a few months later, on the voyage home; and within the year one of the committee had passed away and two others had left invalided.
[2] After forty years' service Ramseyer and his wife returned to Europe in 1903.

ever on the advance to fresh clearings in the wilderness. Ijebu had been closed till 1892 ; now on all sides the Yoruba Bible, which had planted the work on a steadfast basis, was eagerly bought and read.

After a visit to Brass and Bonny in the Niger Delta, the agent turned westward to Porto Novo in Dahomey. King Tofa was ruler in name ; a French Governor held the actual power. At the port everything seemed liable to duty—even English money. The English language was prohibited. A bill announcing the agent's meetings was censured because it was printed partly in English, partly in French ; and Mr Johnson was forbidden to deliver an English address. Still, with the help of the Rev. T. J. Marshall, the Gunu translator, an Auxiliary was formed. A curious unforgettable town on its hot blue lagoon ! At earliest dawn the muezzin's call floated down from the minaret, "Allah-il-Allah ! 'tis better to pray than sleep" ; the Church of Rome was stronger here than in other places on the coast ; the evil power of the fetich-priests had not yet been broken. In the midst of these was the small Wesleyan chapel with its congregation of 400 souls, but in their hands was the Word of God in the native tongue.

At Old Calabar the agent found little scope for Bible distribution, but he left a supply of Scriptures at Degama with the vice-consul, who kindly undertook to distribute them. The old chiefs had persistently opposed all mission work ; as their generation passed away, however, the younger men showed a growing disposition to hear the Word of God, and to have schools in their midst.

In August 1899 Mr Johnson held the first Bible Society meeting among the People of the Book ("Oribukus") at Abeokuta. It was well-nigh his last service to the Society. A telegram from Cape Coast Castle on the 4th October reported his death from blackwater fever. He was but thirty-four, in the prime of his promise, with a happy

marriage in prospect. During his brief tenure of the agency he had retrieved the misfortunes of many years.

A successor was found in Mr Broome P. Smith, who had gained wide experience as lieutenant in the Zulu war, trader on the coast of Madagascar, and worker under the Missionary Alliance on the Congo. He sailed for his post in March 1901. The old ground was again covered, and new fields were added. Returning from Abeokuta with Bishop Tugwell, he prepared the way for an Auxiliary which was formed a few months later at Ijebu Ode, where the day of grace recalled "the Pentecost of Uganda." The eastern border of Sierra Leone, Togoland and the Camercons were visited, and for the first time the Congo was brought within the working limits of the agency.

In 1902, when the circulation of the Accra Auxiliary exceeded 3700 copies, the Rev. C. Buyer, who had charge of the depôt, returned to Germany. On his way through London, he called at Queen Victoria Street, the bearer of a royal stool and the sword of a sword-fish, tokens sent by Kodsho, King of Accra, and the Chief of Asiakwa to the Chief of the Bible House of their gratitude for the Scriptures supplied to their people. The King was not a Christian, but had given a room in his residence for a Bible-class, and sent out messengers every Sunday to invite attendance. A copy of the New Testament was a welcome gift to him; it spoke his mother-tongue "so sweet, so clear, that everybody could understand it now."

In 1903 a depôt was opened at Axim on the Gold Coast, and an Auxiliary founded at Bonthé, Sherboro Island. At Freetown the hall was crowded for the annual meeting of the Sierra Leone Auxiliary. Two colporteurs had taken part in the circulation of the Scriptures; the sales of the year had amounted to 3293 copies; and the total receipts, including offertories from thirty-four churches and thirteen Sunday schools, realised upwards of £111.

After a busy spring and summer Mr Broome Smith returned to England for a well-earned furlough in the autumn of 1903. He, too, had been struck by the drift of Arabic Scriptures to the distant Moslem communities in the interior by the caravan routes from Kitta and Accra, and especially from Bathurst, and one of the matters discussed with the agent for Tangier was the possibility of making Timbuctoo a centre of Bible activity. But this was to be one of the enterprises of another century.

We must now gather up the threads of West African version work.

Through the delay caused by the transmission of proofs to and from Sierra Leone, the Historical Books of the Temne Old Testament were not issued until 1895. Matthew, Mark, the Acts and Romans, Corinthians and Galatians, from Schlenker's translation, were revised by Mr Alley, and published in the new orthography in 1903 and 1904. In the twenty years 5012 copies were printed, making a total of 10,565 Portions in Temne.

By 1897 the Rev. Roy G. Codding of the International Missionary Alliance had reduced Koranko to writing. The language was one of the Western Soudanese dialects, spoken by 100,000 Mandingos in the region about the sources of the Niger, and understood by as many Manika and Sangara; and through this tract of country he hoped to extend a chain of mission stations to Timbuctoo. He and his colleague, the Rev. H. C. Smith, prepared the Gospel of St Luke, and a tentative edition of 500 copies appeared in 1899.

St Matthew, one of the Four Gospels translated into Mandingo (Mande) by the Rev. R. Macbrair, was published as far back as 1837. In 1898 it was decided to print the St Mark by the Rev. R. H. Williams, but owing to inquiries as to the best method of transliteration and the difficulties encountered by compositors and proof-readers, the Gospel did not leave the press till late in 1904.

East of the Limbah country, which is east of the Temne country, lies the land of the Yalunka, and in 1901 the Society printed a small edition (506 copies) of Matthew i.-ix., xxvi.-xxviii., translated by Mr T. E. Alvarez of the Church Missionary Society.[1]

In Fanti the Psalms were translated, and Mr Parker was set apart for the completion of the version, but up to the end of the period the only publication was a reprint of the New Testament, which brought the Fanti issues up to 7057 copies.

Christaller's Otshi (Ashanti) New Testament, again revised, and furnished with marginal references, was issued in an edition of 5000 in 1897; and three years later the first stereotyped edition of the Bible (2500 copies) raised the Otshi printings for the period to 7500 volumes, and the total publication in Otshi to 31,118 copies. When the Rev. A. Jehle of the Basel Mission reached the Gold Coast in May 1900 the sanguinary rising of the Ashantis had just begun. Troops were hurried in from all parts of West Africa; requisitions were sent to the native chiefs for carriers and soldiers. Among the first to leave for the front were men from the small Christian communities of Akropong and Begoro. One of their ministers and two of their catechists accompanied them — some 200 "people of the Book" among 3000 heathen. At night, when the heathen camps presented wild scenes of drunkenness and debauchery, the Christians "sat round their fires, their Bibles on their laps, scanning the sacred pages"; and when the first Ashanti prisoners were brought in, and the heathen chiefs refused to feed them, the Christians collected

[1] During his agency Mr Johnson reported that the Vei tribes in Liberia possessed a remarkable written language, in which apparently only one book existed, but how, when, or where it was produced no one could say. A chart of the characters, which were supposed to have been revealed to a Vei man and which resembled shorthand signs, geometrical figures and Arabic letters, was sent home from Cape Mount in 1900, and an experiment in translation was proposed, but the matter seems to have gone no further.

twelve loads of food from their own scanty supplies, and would take no payment. It was the Christian chivalry of the Maori repeated in the Negro of the Gold Coast.

"I often thought," wrote Zimmermann of his Gâ version, "that I would rather translate the whole New Testament afresh than revise it." Christaller seems to have found the task equally arduous, but at length in 1886 the Committee undertook to publish the revised text. The work, however, was done by the Basel Bible Society in 1889. Nearly eight years later the Committee arranged to print the revised Accra Bible with references. Amid the pressure of other duties the progress of revision was of the slowest. Four thousand copies of the New Testament with references left the press in 1900, and in 1902, to expedite matters, two German missionaries, two native ministers and a catechist were set aside for the task, and the Committee guaranteed for two years a sum not exceeding £450 a year for their maintenance. At the end of February 1904 the revision had reached the fourth chapter of Daniel. The Society's aggregate issues of the Accra (Gâ) Scriptures amounted to 48,569 copies.

In 1889 Isaiah and Jeremiah, by the Rev. J. Merz, were added to the Ewé version in an edition of 1500 copies. The Committee engaged to assist in the printing of the New Testament, but their help was not needed, and in 1898 the volume appeared with references. Four years later, in consequence of lack of funds, the North German Missionary Society parted with its stock, type, matrices and copyrights to the Bible Society;[1] an edition of the New Testament, and Portions, were printed in 1903; and to complete the version the Committee agreed to assist the senior missionary with £200 a year for six years, and to provide him with an African assistant for four. The Society issued in all 15,062 copies of Scripture in Ewé.

[1] Besides the New Testament there had appeared Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings, Samuel, Psalms, Isaiah and Jeremiah.

Exodus, Job and Proverbs in Gu were being copied for the printer in 1899, when the venerable native translator was called to his rest in the curious French town of Porto Novo on its hot blue lagoon. Exodus was published in 1900; and as the Centenary Year closed, the Rev. S. Simpson of Calais, Mr E. S. Marshall, son of the old scholar, the Rev. G. O. Henry and others were revising the New Testament, and several books of the Old were nearly ready for press. In Gu 5057 copies were printed.

The revision of the Yoruba Bible was finished in 1898. Two editions, one in 8vo. and the other in smaller form for general use, were put to press, and in 1900, 13,136 copies were ready for circulation. This brought the Yoruba printings of the twenty years to 54,031 copies, and the aggregate of the version to 112,034.

A revision of the Four Gospels in Nupé for the tribes on the Kworra River was brought home by the Rev. J. L. Macintyre in 1898. On his way down the Niger the MS. went to the bottom of the river with his belongings, but was recovered, and was published in December the following year. The Psalms, translated by Mr T. W. Bako and native catechists, and revised by the Rev. J. D. Aitken of the Church Missionary Society, appeared in 1903, making the total issues in Nupé 4052 copies.

After an interval of seventeen years, the Committee published in 1899 another translation of the Fourth Gospel in Hausa, the great *lingua franca* of the Western Soudan. It was the work of Abd-el-Kadr, a scholar of Kano, revised by Canon C. H. Robinson, and printed in the Arabic character. A new translation of St Matthew, by Lieutenant Nott of the C.M.S. mission at Lokoja, revised by a committee, also appeared in Arabic character in 1902. Both Gospels were sharply criticised, and in 1903 the First Epistle of St John and the Gospel of St Mark, by Dr W. R. Miller and Mr Nott, were printed and sent out to Hausaland to bear the test of actual use.

We now come to other forms of Ibo than the Isuama on which the Rev. J. C. Taylor laboured in the previous period. When the Rev. H. H. Dobinson reached Lokoja in 1890 he found in MS. Archdeacon Henry Johnson's Matthew and Mark in the Upper or Niger Ibo. He revised them with native help, added Luke and John, and saw the Four Gospels through the press in 1893. Returning to Lokoja, he and David Anyaegbunam prepared Acts, the Pauline Epistles and the Psalms, which were all issued in 1896. After Archdeacon Dobinson's untimely death in the following year, David Anyaegbunam assisted the Rev. T. J. Dennis (afterwards Archdeacon) to complete the remaining books, and 2000 copies of the New Testament appeared in 1900. A large part of the Old Testament was then in manuscript; Genesis, by a C.M.S. Ibo pastor, revised by Mr Dennis, was issued in 1901; and in the Centenary Year Genesis--Esther was passing through the press.

Several Portions in the Lower or Delta Ibo, the work of Archdeacon D. C. Crowther and his assistants in the Delta pastorate, had been printed at Bonny. At the request of the Church Missionary Society the Gospel of St John and the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians and Philippians were published by the Committee in 1896. In 1903 an outlay of £6 a month was sanctioned for the employment of a capable assistant, and Archdeacon Crowther took up the translation of the rest of the Bible. The total Ibo issues numbered 15,678 copies.

The Wesleyan missionaries, who had translated parts of the New Testament for the Ibibio tribes which had migrated to the Lower Cross and Calabar Rivers, began in 1898 a Gospel for tentative publication, but up to the end of the period no MS. had reached the Bible House.[1]

[1] In Ungwana Ibo, the Ibo of the Cross River district (where each village had its "Tree of Life," the temporary abode of the spirits of the dead), the Gospel of St Mark was printed at the U.P. Church Mission press, Old Calabar. The New

In another Delta tongue, Ijo or Idzo, the language of the Brass River district, the whole of the New Testament and part of the Old were translated by the Rev. Pythias J. Williams of Twong. In 1896 the Four Gospels were brought home by Archdeacon Dobinson, but fourteen chapters of St Matthew were so little approved by the Brass chiefs that the printing was stopped. New translations of Mark, John, Matthew and Luke, by Catechist Daniel Ockiya, son of the late King Ockiya of Brass, revised by C.M.S. missionaries and native scholars, were published separately in 1903—3038 copies.

We pass to the north-western shore of the French Congo Territory. Here the Gaboon Mission of the American Presbyterian Church began in 1842. The coast-line was held by the tribes of the Mpongwe, Benga, Kombe and Orungu, and behind them was the great Fang people. Dwelling in innumerable villages — and in every village almost every hut contained the fetich of fetiches, Bisti, a father's skull preserved in a basket of bark — they were scattered over a vast region, north and south of the equator. In 1881 the Rev. A. Marling and his wife made his home among them, acquired their speech, and began the translation of the Scriptures into Fang. The Committee published the Gospel of St Matthew, and Genesis a few months afterwards in 1904. The translator died two years later, and in 1902 St Matthew was reprinted at the urgent request of the Mission.

In Pahouin,[1] the Fang of the Ogowe River, south of the Gaboon, the Committee sanctioned the printing of 500 copies each of Matthew and Mark, translated by Pasteur Allégret of the French Evangelical Congo Mission; and the books appeared, Mark in 1902 and Matthew in 1903.

Testament in Efik, the language of Calabar, was translated by Hugh Goldie of the same mission, and was the first missionary version published by the Scottish Bible Society.

[1] Pahouin, the French equivalent of "Pangwe," which is the Mpongwe form of "Fang."

In Galwa, which was also widely spoken on the banks of the Ogowe, the Pentateuch, translated by Pasteur U. Teisserès of the French Congo Mission, was printed at Paris in 1903.

From the first, as we have seen, the Committee kept in touch with the evangelistic work on the immense equatorial waterways. On the reaches of the Upper Congo the Arabic and Swahili versions found the welcome which men give their mother-tongue; and French and German, Dutch and Flemish, Danish and English came with the voices of kinsfolk to widely scattered white settlements. In 1902 the Rev. G. Grenfell, one of the four Baptist pioneers, wrote of messengers who came from forty miles away in quest of the Scriptures to the Wathen depôt in the Cataract region. Another depôt, which was to be opened at Bolobo, would be in the track of thirty or forty steamers navigating 6000 miles on the Congo and its mighty affluents.

After publishing his *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, the Rev. W. H. Bentley, another Baptist pioneer, applied himself with Nlemvo, a young Christian scholar, to the translation of the New Testament into Kongo. The language, "singularly rich and strong," prevailed from the sea to Stanley Pool, and was spoken in the country lying south between Ambriz and the Kwango River. There were dialects, but the version was in the speech of San Salvador, the capital of the ancient Congo realm. The task was begun in 1887; "the last verse of the last chapter of Revelation" was finished at Edgeware early in 1893; 600 copies were printed in the course of the year, and Mr Bentley took his books back with him, "to the delight of his people." There was a reprint of 1000 copies in 1895, and a revised edition in 1903 brought the total issues of the Kongo Testament to 3134.[1]

[1] In 1895 the Committee supplied critical helps to the missionaries engaged at Lokolela in translating into Kibangi, the language spoken on the Mobangi (the greatest of the Congo tributaries), which Mr Grenfell was the first to explore.

Lolo or Mongo is the speech of the Balolo people in the basin of the Lulongo, an eastern tributary, which joins the Congo just after it has made its great bend southwards to Equatorville. St Matthew, translated by the Rev. A. J. Bowen of the Balolo Mission,[1] was printed in 1897, and the Acts in 1901. Mark and John, by his colleague, the Rev. A. E. Ruskin, followed in 1902; and a volume of Epistles (Corinthians, Thessalonians–Philemon, and James–Jude) by both missionaries appeared in 1903. In Lolo 2521 copies were published.

Of these Congo versions the most notable was the last. After the settlement of the Swedish Mission on the northern side of the Lower Congo, the New Testament was translated into Fioti by the Rev. Nils Westlind. On his death in 1895 the work was taken up by the Rev. K. E. Laman, who revised the New Testament, and translated the Old. An edition of the Fioti Bible was undertaken by the Committee in 1902, the Book of Daniel was reached in 1903, and in the course of 1904 appeared 10,350 copies of the first Bible in any of the Congo languages.

Beyond the southern limit of the agency yet another version brings us within measurable distance of the outposts of South African Bible-work. In 1885 an attempt was made to realise Bishop Taylor's scheme of self-supporting missions.[2] A band of pioneers with their families (among them a young lad, of whom we shall hear later) landed in Angola; and four stations along the Kwanza River carried as far as Malange that long chain of industrial Christian settlements which was to traverse the continent from Loanda to Mozambique. Supplies of Scriptures for the Portuguese and such of the natives as understood their language were sent out from the Bible House, and at a

[1] The second Congo Mission founded by Gratton Guinness and John Mackittrick in 1886.

[2] Originated at the General Conference of the MethodistEpiscopal Church of the United States North in 1884.

later date grants in Dutch were forwarded for the Boers who had trekked to Mossamedes.

The strangest thing in the chequered history of this Portuguese possession was the fact that two centuries earlier the negroes had been taught to read and write, and that after the expulsion of the Jesuits, who left no books behind them, the people handed down the literary tradition from generation to generation. Even in the eastern mountain districts which revolted and lapsed into barbarism the tribes preserved the knowledge of reading and writing.

Mbundu was the *lingua franca* of the region through which the main trade-route passed into the wild interior. The difficulties of translation were attacked by the Rev. Héli Chatelain, a Swiss and once a teacher of languages; 500 copies of St John were printed in 1888; and copies of the only book in Mbundu (except perhaps a native collection of folk-sayings) were distributed among the caravan traders. St Luke, translated with native assistance, was issued, after unexpected delays, in an edition of 5000 in 1895, and in 1896, 5000 copies of the Fourth Gospel revised were in circulation. Mr Chatelain, as United States Consul, had now removed to Cocanda in the south,[1] and in 1897 the young lad of the pioneer band—now the Rev. H. C. Withey—took up the work. St Matthew appeared in an edition of 5000 in 1900; and in that year 7500 copies of Scripture in Portuguese and Mbundu were shipped to Angola on missionary terms.

Thus in the twenty years 50,358 copies of Scripture were published by the Society in fourteen new languages, and 84,176 in seven of the languages of the preceding period. The New Testament had been completed in two, and the Bible (Yoruba) in one of these seven. The New Testament had been completed in two of the new tongues, and the

[1] In 1898 he was elected an Honorary Foreign Member of the Society.

Bible was passing through the press in Fioti. Altogether the Society had issued from the beginning 293,578 copies of Scripture in twenty-six of the languages of West Africa.

There is no complete record of the expenditure, receipts, or actual distribution during the twenty years. In addition to the copies printed in the native tongues, many Bibles, Testaments and Portions were distributed in other languages.

From 1884 to 1894 the Yoruba Auxiliary at Lagos transmitted £1170 in free contributions and £862 on purchase account; Sierra Leone, £42 and £305. In the last decade, when the figures represented the balance after deducting local expenditure, Lagos contributed £1128; Freetown, £354; Gambia River, £150; Cape Coast, £168; Accra, £181. The direct expenditure in connection with the agency from 1896 amounted to £2504.

An interesting episode in London concludes the story of West Africa. In July 1904 a deputation from the Bible House presented the Alake of Abeokuta with a copy of the revised Yoruba Bible. Attired in a bright orange-coloured robe embroidered with gold, the powerful and enlightened Egba ruler expressed through an interpreter his hope that God's blessing would rest on the Society. "Everywhere and always," he said, "has the Bible been the only true food of the soul. I have found it so; my father found it so. I have received in England many deputations, many presents which I value much, but this"—the beautiful red morocco volume in his native tongue—"is indeed precious, for it is not for me only, but for my people. I have seen the work of the Bible Society — I attend the anniversary meetings of the Branch in Abeokuta — and no greater honour can fall to any man than to be allowed to take part in that work."

CHAPTER LXXVI

SOUTH AMERICA

We turn to the final survey of Brazil. In that colossal Empire, with less than half the population of the British Isles[1] scattered over regions more than twenty-seven times their area, there was ample scope for the American and British and Foreign Societies to work side by side. Its provinces — one of which could have lodged the kingdom of Persia, while two Germanies could have flourished in another—might well have been the despair of the agency's seven or eight colporteurs. As these ventured into the wilder, darker, more illiterate interior, they were parted from their families for months together, occasionally for a year, once indeed even for two years. Many were worn out by the hardships of their journeys, the wretched food, the worse accommodation, the unhealthy climate; but several served in the great cause for twelve, fourteen and sixteen years. With the enlargement of evangelistic effort Senhor Dos Santos increased the number of his sub-depôts. These laid no direct charge on the agency, but the Scriptures were supplied carriage free at a discount of 50 per cent., and a six months' settlement prevented the accumulation of arrears. There had been but one sub-depôt in 1879; in 1885 there were thirty, in 1889 forty-one. From that date the Reports lose count of them, but as time passed

[1] In 1890 the population was estimated at something less than 14,500,000, which included 2,000,000 of African negroes, and 1,000,000 of "wild Indians," besides other uncivilised tribes. Eighty-four per cent. were set down as illiterate, and ten years later the illiterate in country districts were computed at 95 per cent.

their value became more and more evident. In 1899, when the agency's colportage sales for five years had risen to 29,078 copies, the circulation of the sub-depôts for the same period amounted to 58,856. For the most part these sub-depôts were managed by missionaries, who employed colporteurs of their own as part of the mission establishment, and in 1900 that circumstance gave rise to a remarkable development in distribution which will be noticed in its place.

Various interesting details connected with the work may now be briefly mentioned.

In 1884 a Portuguese translation of *Mary Jones and Her Bible* made widely known the picturesque story of the founding of the Society. In June 1885 Senhor Dos Santos lost his young wife, and for some time his own health failed, but he rallied bravely to the double duties of pastor and agent. A zealous and energetic man, then and afterwards—much occupied with the calls of his congregation, present daily at the depôt for despatch of business, voluminous correspondence, direction of colporteurs, translation of their reports, except when the interests of the Society required a long journey in one or more of the provinces. In 1885, too, the Provincial Assembly of Ceará passed a law imposing a personal tax of £56 on the sale of non-Catholic books. It was an ingenious embargo, which no doubt the Bishops would have readily adopted in the other provinces, but an appeal was made to the Emperor, and we hear no more of this method of repression. In April 1887 Senhor Dos Santos dedicated a new church which he had been the means of building in Rio. On the 17th January 1888, after a few hours' illness, Dr Kalley died in Edinburgh, and was laid in the grave by his intimate friend, the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor. In these pages we have seen vivid glimpses of the old physician's mission work. In the early fifties he was the first to preach the Gospel in Rio de Janeiro, and

Senhor Dos Santos was himself the second person baptized in that city. After his death measures were taken to continue the system of colportage which he had established.

In many places the seed of the Word was springing up in small congregations and groups of believers; a Protestant immigration, largely from Germany, was giving an appreciable tone to society; liberal measures were widening the vistas of religious liberty, when suddenly, in November 1889, without turbulence or bloodshed, Dom Pedro was dethroned, and the Empire was effaced in a day by the United States of Brazil. Roman Catholicism ceased to be the State religion; civil marriage, civil burial were abolished; all Churches and all religions stood on the same footing in the eyes of the law.

The circulation of the Scriptures increased, and there were other signs of deepening interest, but absolute freedom did not bring the immediate quickening of religious thought which had been expected. For a considerable time, indeed, men's minds were distracted by a series of insurrections, revolts and mutinies which troubled the Republic. In September 1893 Rio was bombarded; shot and shell rained on the streets; unhappily the premises of the American Bible Society were partly wrecked, but those of the British and Foreign ("We have been at our post every day," wrote Dos Santos, "in our depôt which is in the centre of the city, near the sea") escaped damage. When tranquillity had been restored a Bible was prepared for presentation, in the name of the Society, to the President, Dr Prudente de Moraes, whose children had been educated in mission colleges.

These political changes removed many of the most serious obstructions to Bible enterprise. At times, it is true, the Scriptures were torn up or burned; occasionally in remote villages where the priest was still an overruling influence the colporteur was ill-treated, forbidden to sell, imprisoned for a few hours; even in Pernambuco, in 1898, a fanatical

outbreak resulted in the murder of a Protestant; but the Church of Rome was not slow to perceive that its position could not be maintained by illegality and violence. It was aroused to a legitimate activity; new bishops were appointed; festivals were multiplied or observed with more imposing circumstance; but everywhere the circulation of the Scriptures was opposed, in spite of the letter in which the Holy Father had commended the reading of them to the faithful.

On the other hand, the Evangelical movement had never been so buoyant or so manifestly blessed with the fruits of its labour. Seven societies were in the field—five from the United States, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian and Seventh-Day Baptist, and two from these islands, the South American Missionary Society and "Help for Brazil," founded by Mrs S. P. Kalley (the Doctor's widow), and supported chiefly by friends in Scotland.

In 1896 the number of colporteurs had been increased to twelve, more or less fully employed. Two years later thirteen were traversing fourteen of the States, and for the first time one of the staff distributed the Word in remote Matto Grosso, that vast territory in which 93,000 people were the tenants of a region twice the area of Germany. Early in 1899 Mr E. W. Searle, formerly a missionary in Grand Canary, was appointed assistant-agent, and made a prolonged tour of inspection and organisation through fourteen or fifteen of the provinces. In the country illiteracy, in the towns indifference were, he found, the prime obstacles in the way of progress. Yet in all directions there was evidence that the colporteur had passed by. In Rio Grande and Parahyba alone he collected, in districts unknown to the missionary, the names of thirty villages, in each of which families met to read the Book of Life. As to the missionaries themselves, the testimony was unanimous: "Without the help afforded by your Society, we could not have carried on our work."

It was in 1900 that the system of sub-depôts gave rise to the colporteur-agents — representatives of the Protestant missionary societies in Brazil, selling the Scriptures for missionary purposes. They were supplied with the Society's books at a discount of 50 per cent. on the selling price, and were allowed another 50 per cent. towards current expenses. Ten persons were employed in 1900; thirty in 1901; in 1902 the distribution by this method amounted to 76,400 copies.

Three-and-twenty years of service had been completed, and 413,946 Bibles, Testaments and Portions had gone through his hands, when Senhor Dos Santos resigned his office at the close of 1901. He was succeeded by the Rev. Frank Uttley, a minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, who set out under the happiest auspices: a generous supporter of the cause had promised to contribute £120 a year for three years towards the extension of the work, and had formed a private prayer-union to ask God's blessing upon it. At the time of this change the Committee and the American Bible Society were discussing a friendly delimitation of their respective spheres, and on the 1st July 1903 a satisfactory division of the immense field was carried into effect.

What remains to tell is rather the beginning of a new than the end of an old chapter.

At the instance of the Committee, Mr Fred Glass (afterwards of the South American Evangelical Mission, Liverpool) made a pioneer trip through Goyaz and Matto Grosso in 1903. Six thousand miles were covered, seventy open-air meetings were held, and nearly 3000 volumes were sold—a Gospel sometimes for eggs or sugar-canes, a Testament for dried meat—among people to whom the Bible was unknown even by name. The travellers were mercifully preserved from sickness, forest-fires, wolves, alligators, poisonous snakes, and the Indian tribes through whose zone they

travelled. "We saw their camp-fires in the distance, and sometimes we heard them accompanying us, hidden in the scrub and forest." At Cuyaba, the capital of Matto Grosso, Mr Glass gave a large-type Testament to the Vicar, a venerable priest eighty-two years of age. He hesitated to accept it; he was too old to change his religion; but "on parting he gave his blessing, and wished the workers God-speed."

Otherwise the Church of Rome had few blessings for the Bible or the distribution of the Bible. Pamphlets appeared in which Protestantism was branded as "a depraved religion, which came from hell, and which would open the door to all the vices," and the faithful were warned that to buy, sell, read or keep the Protestant Bible was "a mortal sin." At Pernambuco the public were invited to celebrate the first anniversary of the Anti-Protestant League by burning 117 Bibles, Testaments and Portions in the Penha Church. "They will never again publicly burn Bibles in this city," said a missionary. Every important paper protested; one of the foremost Brazilian statesmen denounced the act as a violation of the religious freedom granted by the Constitution; on all sides there was an inquiry for the book which the priests were so much afraid of.

What it burned in one place, however, the Church published in another. In 1903 *A Harmony of the Holy Gospels*, translated from the Vulgate by a priest of São Paulo, appeared with the official imprimatur, and in Bahia the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark were issued by the Franciscans. Both were furnished with numerous notes, and warned readers against the "false Protestant Bibles" and "the emissaries of the Bible Societies," but the former contained the pathetic avowal: "It must be admitted that for a long time the Gospel was for Catholics a closed and unknown book; and for this reason the God of the Gospels is becoming an unknown God."

In the matter of versions, the need had long been felt for a Portuguese Bible more suitable to Brazil than Figueiredo's or Almeida's. A joint committee of foreigners and Brazilians was accordingly appointed by the American and British and Foreign Bible Societies, and in 1904 tentative copies of the Gospels and the Acts were printed for criticism. No Portion had yet appeared in any aboriginal tongue, but the attention of the Committee was now called to the most prevalent — Tipu, or Nheengatu, spoken in Goyaz and Matto Grosso, on the upper Amazon, and on the Rio Negro towards Venezuela; and in that speech of many wild tribes the message of salvation will doubtless be delivered in God's good time.

The expenditure on the Brazilian Agency during these twenty years was £40,769. The receipts amounted to £13,508. 494,204 volumes were distributed — 149,932 by colportage, on which £23,169 was spent.

In the Argentine Republic the Society depended for some time almost entirely on colportage. Up to 1898 the annual sales at the depôt, the sub-depôts and the booksellers', though they showed a fluctuating increase, never exceeded three figures. Colportage accounted for 99 per cent. of the total distribution in 1885, for 92 per cent. in 1894. In the last five years (1899-1903), when the missionary societies entered into vigorous co-operation, 77¾ per cent. of the whole circulation was due to the small staff of Bible-men. During the period there were from five to seven of them—a mere handful in that vast country; and the need for their work was not diminished by the thousands of settlers, for the most part ignorant peasants from Italy, France, Switzerland and Spain.[1] But suitable men were rare, and even in this small staff, seldom the same for more than a year or two, it proved most difficult to fill the places of those who left.

[1] 93,000 landed in 1886.

A visit, in the summer of 1884, to Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, and the important town of Concepcion, 200 miles further north, was the last of Henriksen's long journeys. There, doubtless, voices of the Indians called to him from the distances of the unexplored Chaco stretching north-west to Bolivia. In 1888, after ten years' service, he accepted an appointment under the South American Missionary Society as leader of a mission to these wild tribes. He had obtained a translation of the Sermon on the Mount in their language, Guárani, but the printer at Buenos Ayres returned the MS. as soon as he heard that it was part of the Bible he was producing, and the Committee printed a tentative edition as a diglot with Spanish.[1] In July 1888, for the last time, Henriksen met his colporteurs at Rosario for thanksgiving and prayer, before departing for the wilderness, in which he laid down his life soon afterwards.

In the closing years of his agency the authorities, taking a more appreciative view of the influence of the Bible, dispensed with the usual colportage licence. The Committee, in answer to a strong appeal, provided a "Bible cart," which enabled two of the men to make a most successful experiment. In two months the province of Santa Fé was traversed in many directions, a distance of 1800 miles was covered, and nearly half the distribution of the year (11,313 copies) was thus effected. Protected from bad weather, sure of a night's shelter, provided with food and an ample supply of books, the travellers were able to halt when they pleased, to choose the most convenient times for visiting the farms, to make any spot a centre for excursions. In 1885, Pastor Armand Hugon was introduced to the agency by the Italian agent, Signor Meille; a sub-depôt was started for the Waldensian colony in Rosario Oriental, Uruguay; and in 1887 a second

[1] It had not passed the Censors in 1904, but a Guárani version of St Luke, which Dr Lindsay of Concepcion had undertaken for the American Bible Society, was in the press in 1905.

"Bible cart" with two more colporteurs was moving slowly through the better populated districts in those regions. The possibility of founding a colportage station at Asuncion was considered, but Paraguay was in too unsettled a state to warrant the attempt.

Signor Rocco Jetto succeeded Henriksen in October 1888. For months he sought in vain for Christian workers, until at length the task he had undertaken seemed hopeless. With a staff fallen away to three men, and one of these weak and ailing, the circulation in 1889 dropped to 2765 copies, the lowest figure for fifteen years. Faith and energy, however, brought their reward. Once more there were six colporteurs in the field, and a new life was breathed into the work. Troubles crowded upon troubles in 1890 and 1891: in the capital, insurrection and bombardment, the enforced resignation of the President, financial panics and business disasters; in the country, the misery of thousands of immigrants whom the Government had left to shift for themselves, murrain which destroyed half the sheep and cattle in some of the provinces, locust-swarms which stripped the green from tree and pasture and covered the ground "as thick as letters in a newspaper." "No hay con que" was the answer of the moody and hungry people as the colporteurs offered their books; "We have not the wherewithal; we need bread." But even in these circumstances the sales increased, and in 1893, a year marked by the waste and ruin of two revolutions, they amounted to 12,509 copies. It was the largest annual total yet reached, and from that date the colportage returns never fell below it.

As new railways abridged the vast provinces, and the constant influx from Europe leavened the masses with fresh ideas, and prosperity advanced in spite of party intrigues and oppressive taxation, the whole aspect of the Argentine altered. A single public incident gives a striking measure of the religious change. In 1895, for the first time, Argentinos

of all shades of politics joined the Italians[1] in an enthusiastic celebration of the 20th September. It was their great national day, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the entry of the Italian troops into Rome; and in all the large towns of the Republic processions of "thousands upon thousands" of Italians and Argentinos, with bands of music and flags of all nations, marched through the streets, while ladies in the balconies cheered and rained flowers upon them. In Rosario the Commander-in-chief and the Commodores of two of the Argentine ironclads called in state on the Italian consul, and orators of both nations declaimed in the town hall against the tyranny and corruption of the Church of Rome. A strange object-lesson in the spiritual emancipation of a people; for while religious liberty had been achieved, the thraldom of superstition remained intact. One might hate the Church for its despotism, but the priest was needed to absolve the dying and say Masses for the dead; one might despise the clergy for their corruption, and still adorn the holy images with flowers and ear-rings. The Bible alone could free men from that thraldom, and from other evils which beset society —infidelity, spiritualism in its basest forms, and the sinister influence fostered by the State lotteries.

Signor Rocco Jetto resigned through failing health in 1896, and was succeeded in January 1897 by the Rev. Paul Lantaret, pastor of one of the Waldensian congregations in Uruguay. The Society had not long the benefit of his linguistic gifts and youthful energy. In May 1898 news came that he had fallen a victim to gastric fever, leaving a young wife and infant child. His place was taken at the close of the year by his friend and former colleague, the Rev. B. A. Pons, who had laboured many years in Uruguay.[2]

[1] The Italians then numbered 500,000 in a population of 3,970,000.

[2] In the intervals between these appointments the Rev. Hugh Blair, British Chaplain at Rosario, and Mr W. Barnett gave their valuable services, and the curious fact was noted in 1900 that for five consecutive years the annual reports from the Argentine bore the signature of five different writers.

A firm hand now held the reins. After an absence of twenty years, headquarters were transferred to Buenos Ayres. Near two of its great churches the chief depôt was opened under the veteran Brumat, the only colporteur in the agency who had seen over ten years of service. Large sales were not anticipated, but to many questioning eyes its windows presented the Word of God; within its doors Roman Catholics and free-thinkers, Jews ("nearly all atheists"), Greeks, Arabs (a sort of gipsy tribe who came in with their pedlars' boxes to rest) heard of a Saviour; and lonely immigrants, new landed from Europe, found at least one friend to speak to in a foreign land.

As to colportage, railway managers on the main lines granted half-fare tickets, and in Buenos Ayres the provincial and municipal monthly taxes were remitted. Proper men were as hard to come by as ever, but under wise direction one colporteur, ranging through Uruguay or the "Queen province," or compassing Mendoza, San Juan, Salta, Jujuy in a single circuit, seemed to cover what would have been the ground of two or three in former times. Regarding the character of these busy distributers one example may serve for all. Away in the north, in the Chaco Government, a vehicle was needed for effective work, but as young Ysseldyk saw no chance of one dropping from the Society's gold and silver trees, he bought a cart and two cheap horses out of his savings, threaded his way through the immense forest, shouldered his pack when dense jungle or wide marsh stopped his horses, and trudged for miles to the scattered houses and the small clusters of woodmen's *ranchos*. Many of these wretched huts were mere roof-shelters without walls. The people lived in open immorality. The men were reckless fellows, fond of gambling and strong drink. The water used was generally dirty, but it was drunk boiled with the indispensable *maté*. Mastering his repugnance, Ysseldyk took his food with these half-wild creatures, that he might

tell them of the Bible and speak of the love of Christ. Among them he sold most of his books.

Direct missionary co-operation was noted in 1898. In 1902, nine of the eleven Protestant organisations in the field drew their supplies of Scripture from the Society or received material aid from its liberality.[1] The work of the Rev. W. C. Morris, Mr Torre, Mr Olsson and others was subsidised, with the approval of the Committee, by means of free grants, expressly voted not for free distribution but for sale by colportage. In five years these free grants amounted to 15,263 volumes. Correspondents and other volunteers were not wanting, and among these may be mentioned Signor Poverini, an Italian convert, who employed on his own account a Bible cart in the Chaco of Santa Fé, which the agency's men had not yet explored.

Menacing shadows darkened the picture. President Roca had established new relations with the Holy See;[2] Argentine bishops returned from Rome laden with relics of Saints for their cathedrals; an invasion of priests and monks preceded and followed the arrival of a Papal Nuncio. The popular imagination was caught by the glamour of magnificent pageants, while, in ominous contrast, two movements for reform—a campaign against public gambling and a proposal to introduce the Bible into the State schools—collapsed after many stirring speeches and demonstrations.[3] Year

[1] The Waldensians (five congregations in Argentina and Uruguay), the South American Missionary Society (two centres, three large schools, at Buenos Ayres and Rosario), the Baptist Church (three main centres), the "Open Brethren," (five centres in Argentina and Bolivia), the "Close Brethren," the "Regions Beyond" Mission, the Christian and Missionary Alliance (three centres in Buenos Ayres), the South American Evangelical Mission (ten centres), and the Salvation Army.

[2] As a statesman at least, Roca recognised the moral power of the Divine Book. Comparing South with North America he ascribed the immense superiority of the latter to the Bibles with which the Puritan Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock. Spaniards and Roman Catholics took exception to the statement, and the President afterwards thought it advisable to declare his own Spanish sympathy and descent.

[3] In 1902, however, the *Congreso* in Buenos Ayres voted, in spite of strong opposition, a monthly subsidy of $500 to the Argentine Evangelical schools directed by the Rev. W. C. Morris. The spectacle of 1700 children connected with these institutions incited the priests to gather funds for opposition schools, and to influence parents by promises and threats.

after year witnessed the "coronation" of some new image. After the "Virgen del Valle" in Catamarca, the "Virgin of Itati" in Corrientes, the "Virgin of Lujan" (sixteen miles from the capital), "the Lord and the Virgin of Miracles" in remote Salta,[1] a large unsightly crucifix was solemnly crowned in Buenos Ayres on the 13th September 1903. The strange ceremony was performed by the archbishop, assisted by several bishops and dignitaries of the Church and a multitude of priests and monks; and *El Señor de los Milagros*, escorted by detachments of rifles and lancers, was carried back to the church to which it belonged. For two centuries this crucifix had been renowned for a long series of miracles. It was miracles everywhere. From the "miraculous medal" hung round the babe's neck to the candle lit for a good lottery ticket, nine-tenths of the religion of the people seemed to be an exploitation of the miraculous.

For twenty years had Mongiardino lain in his grave on the hill when the name of Bolivia appeared once more in the Reports. In 1898 an Argentine mission-party, led by Mr W. Payne of Cordoba, journeyed through Chili and Peru, entered Bolivia from the north-west, and visited the principal towns. During a four months' tour they sold *en route* 3000 copies of Scripture, provided by the Society. Three years later, Max Rohrsetzer, one of the agency colporteurs, crossed the frontier from the south. A man of fine presence and impressive speech; as much at ease among deputies and lawyers at Government House or the Dominican nuns of Mortero as on a railway platform or in the bar of a wine-

[1] These two images, *El Señor y la Virgen de los Milagros*, are said to date from 1592. In that year the people of Callao were terrified by repeated earthquakes, and one morning two big boxes were seen drifting in to shore. They were found to contain two wooden images, "the Crucified Lord" and "the Lady of the Rosary," destined for Salta. After their arrival in that town no earthquake was felt for centuries. In time the statues were forgotten, and stood in a dark corner of the cathedral until 1844, when Salta was again nearly destroyed. Then the inhabitants remembered, and went on their knees by night to implore mercy; but for all their "cruel penances" the earthquake shocks continued. At last the images were carried in solemn procession, and the earth had peace. So runs the story.

shop : first visible to us in 1900, mounted on his own horse, and scattering the Word of God in the sierras of Catamarca, "where the Gospel of Christ was still an unknown thing."

He reached Sucre the capital in the autumn, and travelled in Bolivia until the end of September 1902. Sucre he pronounced "one hundred years behind Argentina." The archbishop indeed, who seriously proposed capital punishment as the penalty for Bible-selling, was mediæval. A good distribution was made in the capital, and young men gathered nightly at the colporteur's lodgings for books and religious conversation. At Oruro, where many evangelical meetings were held with Mr Payne, the people were roused to fanaticism by emissaries of the priests, and rung into tumult by the church bells ; Rohrsetzer was twice assaulted, and had to be rescued, the second time by the police. At Cochabamba a procession of ecclesiastics besought the authorities to expel him, but the Prefect declared that as a trader, a colporteur was as free under the law as any other trader ; the sales increased ; and crowds of young men, mostly students, pressed upon him with the cry, "We want to hear *you* ; away with the priests ! " The Jesuits at La Paz invited him to their convent, and there, in the presence of about three hundred people, he had to sustain a discussion first with the superior, then with the whole community. "Unable to resist the colporteur's arguments," wrote the reporter of a *La Paz* journal, "these holy men began to insult him. Then the prior gave him a first blow, which was followed by many others from the fathers, until they opened the door, and thrust him out into the midst of a mob gathered at the entrance." Happily a number of gallant young fellows got about him, and carried him safely to his lodgings.

He visited many of the wretched *cholo* villages at the silver and lead mines, where women worked as well as men, and night and day digging went on without break, save when

once a fortnight pay-day came round, and the mighty drinking-bout. That was Rohrsetzer's only chance of speaking to the people. He would stand among the crowd, reading pages of Scripture in a loud voice, and many a copy of the "beautiful book" was bought, for numbers of these poor natives, of mixed European and Indian blood, were able to read.

His travels close with a glimpse of Ayo Ayo and its separate burial-grounds, named *Paradiso*, *Purgatorio*, and *Inferno*. "It costs $100 to be buried in the first, and $50 to be buried in the second; but alas! although people pay $100 to put their dead in 'Heaven,' they still must pay for the Masses to take the souls out of Purgatory." During this long tour he sold 3612 volumes, and, in addition, several cases of books belonging to the American Bible Society, which he found in Oruro. The work thus initiated was taken up by some Canadian Baptists, who had started schools, and two of the South American Evangelical Mission, expressly sent from Buenos Ayres and equipped with Scriptures from the American Bible Society.

A word remains to be said of the Far South. A Yahgan translation of St John was published in 1886; in the following year Mr Bridges[1] was supplied with English, Spanish and Yahgan books, and grants were voted to the Falkland Islands; and in 1899 a stock of Bibles was sent out for the Sunday schools at Punta Arenas in the Straits of Magellan. Little is recorded of the Welsh settlers on the Chubut River, who numbered 1200 in 1887. A grant of Bibles was made in 1899 in consequence of the great flood which swept away their churches and homes. £6, 7s., the proceeds of a Thanksgiving Day collection from all denominations, was received at the Bible House in 1900, and in the following year a free

[1] Mr Bridges retired in 1887. He took land, and settled with his eight children among the natives, whom he wished to keep about him. Returning home after a short visit to Buenos Ayres he fell ill, and was taken back to the city, where he died in October 1898.

contribution of £15, 15s. accompanied a request for some 600 Bibles and Testaments in Welsh, Spanish and Italian.

The total distribution through the Argentine Agency in this final period was 263,119 copies (225,979 by colporteurs). The receipts amounted to £7655; the expenditure to £21,782, of which £12,798 was spent on colportage.

The cession of Peruvian territory, as the result of the war (1879-83), carried the Chilian boundary northward beyond Arica and Tacna, and considerably extended the range of the Valparaiso Bible Society. Colporteurs visited Callao, Lima and the newly acquired towns, and in 1887 the Auxiliary was in a position to avail itself of the Committee's offer of additional assistance. The annual subsidy was accordingly increased from £100 to £350, and in 1887 and 1888 the Scriptures reached Payta, Piura, Chilclayo, and many other towns and Indian villages accessible from the northern part of the Peruvian coast. In the latter year the Methodist Episcopal Missions and the American Bible Society entered the field. Shortly afterwards members of the "Regions Beyond" Mission established themselves at Truxillo and Cuzco, and in time stations and schools held a dozen points of vantage. Relieved by these agencies, the Auxiliary concentrated its work on Chili — the home provinces; the nitrate and the silver and copper mine regions between Pisagua and Coquimbo where a Sabbath was unknown; Valdivia and its growing population of German settlers in the south. In the early nineties local Bible committees were formed and missionary colportage was developed; and in 1899 the German Evangelical Seamen's Society joined the Auxiliary in colportage in the sea-ports.

The annual grant of £350 was continued for sixteen years. It was reduced to £300 for 1903, and further curtailment was contemplated when, as we shall presently see, affairs took

another turn. The Report for 1904 announced the death of the octogenarian colporteur, Francis Müller, who had been appointed at the formation of the Auxiliary in 1860. When he was well over threescore and ten he travelled among his countrymen in the Valdivian colonies, made 62 visits to the English and German hospitals in Valparaiso, boarded 670 ships, and called on 4700 families. Mr Wetherby, who was appointed yet earlier by Mr Corfield and became the depositary of the Auxiliary, was still at his post at the Centenary.

The total distribution of the Valparaiso Bible Society from its foundation appears to have been 123,670 copies of Scripture. The subsidies and discounts of the British and Foreign amounted in the last twenty years to £8198, and the remittances to the Bible House to £4096.

A brief reference has been made to Bible and evangelistic work in Peru. The thoughts of the Committee were never far from that historic empire of the Incas[1] which three centuries of Spanish tyranny and corrupt Romanism had debased to an ignorant and superstitious peasantry. Seeing that the need was manifest, the way clear,[2] the right man available, the Committee in July 1901 appointed Mr A. R. Stark (for seven years a member of the "Regions Beyond" Mission) agent for "the Republics of the Andes" —Peru, Ecuador and Colombia. Headquarters were fixed at Callao, the port of Lima, and in the brief interval covered by this record, 12,198 copies of Scripture were put into circulation.[3] A Biblewoman, under the direction of Mrs Stark, visited the cobbled courts and old straggling buildings in the poorest parts of the port and the capital. Colporteurs, five or six in number, and among them an

[1] In 1890 and the following year 11,500 copies of Scripture, chiefly in Spanish, were consigned to the Rev. C. H. Bright, an independent missionary at Huacho.

[2] The law sanctioned the sale of the Scriptures in Peru, Ecuador and Colombia, but freedom of public worship had not yet been conceded in Peru.

[3] The expenditure on the agency was £1680; the receipts amounted to £234.

Inca Indian speaking the Quechua of his people, traversed leagues of desert, rivers and rice-swamps along the coast, climbed the Andes and descended their eastern slopes towards the Amazon, caught their first glimpse of strange savages in the immemorial forest, and began their mission in Ecuador and Colombia. The hatred of priests and friars, persecution and mob-violence, Bible-burning, the snows and storms of the Cordillera all fell to their lot, and their journals read like a sequel to the Acts of the Apostles.

The agent himself proclaimed the civil and spiritual blessings of the Bible in the columns of the newspapers—*La Tarde* of Chilcayo, *La Razon* of Truxillo, *El Eco* of Huataz, *El Vapor* of Oruro, and *El Comercio*, the great South American daily; made long journeys on the Sierra and along the Pacific; visited Ecuador, Colombia and Panamá,[1] which had freed itself from the mediæval government at Bogotá. As the need arose, he insisted on the official observance of treaty rights and constitutional liberties. The Prefect of Ayacucho, who had forbidden the sale of the Scriptures, was directed by the Peruvian Minister of the Interior to "withdraw himself from that affair," and the arbitrary conduct of the Prefect of Buenaventura formed the subject of a protest to the British Minister at Bogotá.

In the Centenary Year Peru was advancing towards religious liberty. In spite of ecclesiastical opposition, the co-operation of Protestant missionaries was recognised at the Temperance Congress convened at Lima, and the new law of civil marriage distinctly acknowledged the right of a Peruvian to leave the Church of Rome. A large Spanish Bible, with a suitable inscription, was presented to Señor Manuel Candomo on his election to the presidency. He was the third President in succession elected without a revolution—an event unprecedented in the history of Peru.

In the spring of 1905 the Valparaiso Bible Society

[1] An account of the work at Panamá will be found in the next chapter.

constituted itself a regular Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society; the London Committee undertook to maintain the Bible House at Valparaiso, so far as it was a centre for the sale and distribution of the Scriptures; Chili was added to "the Republics of the Andes," and Mr Stark was appointed agent for the whole of the west coast of South America.

CHAPTER LXXVII

THE WEST INDIAN AGENCY

THE Emancipation of the Negroes had been to the Society one of the heart-moving events of 1834. It was now the fiftieth year of their liberation, and the Committee took advantage of "the black brother's jubilee" to send in person a message of congratulation and encouragement to the West Indies. Starting from Barbados in October 1884, the Rev. David Brodie of the Metropolitan District and the Rev. George Sargeant, newly-elected president of the Wesleyan West Indian Conference, travelled together for four months through the island-clusters, and ended their tour in Jamaica.

Everywhere the liveliest interest was taken in their visit. The Bible Society meeting became once more common ground on which men of all shades of opinion acknowledged their oneness in Christ and their responsibility for the diffusion of His Gospel.

In Guiana, that land of beautiful rivers winding through forests of giant trees, they saw something of the need for the Word of God among many races and in numerous tongues. Besides the aboriginal tribes—Arawaaks, Warows, Accawoios—and the descendants of the negro slaves (many of them wild bushmen in the interior), there were Eurasians, Hindus, Mohammedans from all parts of India, thousands of Chinese in constant flow and reflux, and Europeans, including some 12,000 Portuguese from Madeira. Behind the coast settlements of Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo feverish swamps, cataracts and half-savage men were among the difficulties

to be overcome by colporteur and missionary. The most intractable difficulty of all, perhaps—religious prejudice—was, however, happily removed; an Auxiliary was founded at Berbice, and representatives of all denominations united to restore that of Demerara.

The meetings at Port of Spain and San Fernando, with Bishop Rawle presiding at one and the Attorney-General at the other, were the largest ever known in Trinidad. Local committees were formed at Grenada, St Vincent, St Lucia, St Kitt's. Two hundred teachers welcomed the deputation in Barbados. At Antigua, when the Auxiliary was revived, a worn but well-kept copy of the "Emancipation" Testament and Psalms was given to Mr Brodie, to be taken home to the Bible House Library. Half a century ago it had been presented to Christian Allan, "in commemoration of the First of August 1834." Christian Allan, "Brother Allan" as he was affectionately called, was now a highly-esteemed deacon of the Moravian Church at St John's, and had long been a right-hand man to Bishop Westerby.[1]

On the steamer to Jamaica the travellers met the Governor, Sir Henry Norman, an old member and sometime president of the Calcutta Auxiliary, who readily consented to preside at the Kingston meeting. That important gathering, at which the news of the fall of Khartoum was announced, was attended by the clergy and ministers of all the Churches; and a reception no less inspiriting awaited the deputation at all the Bible-centres of the island. "The people in the West Indies," wrote Brodie, "have the same enthusiasm that used to be shown at home twenty or thirty years ago: crowded audiences, whatever the size of the building—on one occasion quite 1500 persons present. In Jamaica especially the collections were liberal."[2]

If only a suitable agent could have been found, it was

[1] Brother Allan died in 1889, aged seventy-seven.

[2] At the close of the visit Mr Sargeant's name was placed on the list of Honorary Life Governors, and his friendly services did not cease with the mission.

the very moment for the reinstatement of the West Indian Agency. But the Committee's search was unsuccessful, and for five years more the work proceeded on the customary lines. The Auxiliaries were cheered, however, to more sustained efforts by the liberality of the Society in sharing the expenses of transmission and colportage; and the Penny Testament, which had just been published, and which here too sold "like apples," brought the Word of God within easy reach of the poorest of the poor.

In the course of this interval was published the revised Negro-English Testament, the fourth edition printed by the Society for the use of the Moravian missionaries in Surinam. Experiments in colportage among the neighbouring islands were made from Trinidad and Santa Cruz. Bishop Westerby of Antigua, for four-and-twenty years an Honorary Life Governor, died in November 1886. The Auxiliaries in eleven of the fourteen parishes of Jamaica were full of life; and in 1885, on the initiative of the Committee, William Wright, a Moravian black colporteur from the island, set out for the Canal diggings at Panamá. Along the railway, over which he obtained a pass, in the gambling dens, about the workmen's huts, he offered the Word of God in half a dozen languages among the wild gangs of negro coolies and Europeans toiling in thousands, and dying in hundreds, at the cutting of the huge waterway. In 1889, however, the outlook was so discouraging that, on the advice of the friends in Jamaica, the undertaking was given up for a time, though supplies of Scriptures were sent to the missionaries at Greytown and Port Limon, as well as to Belize.

As the result of correspondence an Auxiliary for Hayti was formed in 1886, with the approval of the Hayti Government and the privilege of importing the Scriptures free of duty. In the following year Mr J. Cecil Berger was tentatively appointed to a limited agency in the West Indies, and began to organise a system of colportage at

Port-au-Prince; but his health failed, and the project fell through on his resignation in 1889.

At last, in the summer of 1890, the Rev. G. O. Heath, of the Moravian Church, Barbados, was approached by the Committee. Inured to the climate, familiar with the life and character of the people, he was eminently qualified to represent the Society; and after a successful tour through the islands, he was appointed to the widely-scattered agency, which included not only the Caribbean archipelago and the three Guianas, but British Honduras and the states of Central America — a population of perhaps 10,000,000, speaking an amazing variety of aboriginal and immigrant tongues. With a number of the islands communication was neither rapid nor frequent (the quickest route from Jamaica to the Bahamas was by way of New York); but apart from this difficulty the area was too extensive to be managed single-handed, and in 1893 Señor Castells, whom we have already seen at work in the East, arrived as sub-agent for British Honduras and the Five Republics;[1] of which we shall speak in the next chapter.

From this point onward the agent's life was the ceaseless play of the shuttle—numberless comings and goings, services, addresses, conferences with Auxiliaries and friends —which was to fill with design and colour the great loom stretched across 2000 miles between Bermuda and Surinam. The conditions of the work unfortunately prevented such full and clear reports as came from other agencies. The West Indies, indeed, never grew into a single homogeneous system. The chief depôt was in Jamaica, but the islands in the eastern crescent were generally supplied with the Scriptures from London under the agent's orders; while a number of Auxiliaries—St Thomas, St Kitt's, Antigua, St Lucia, St Vincent, Trinidad, Demerara and Berbice—ordered for themselves and "reported" direct to the Bible House.

[1] Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

The Committee had long regarded colportage as the most effective method of distribution, and a number of men were at work in the islands and on the mainland under local supervision. Colportage centres for various groups of islands was Mr Heath's plan for meeting what he found to be "a wider demand and a deeper need for the Word of God than was generally recognised." His project was materially furthered by the arrival of the Christian Mission in Barbados. Its leader, Mr Hartmann, undertook the direction and payment of five men, who travelled through Grenada, St Vincent and St Lucia; and some time later Martinique and Guadeloupe were included in the range of the Mission.

In October 1896 Mr Mellowes, a zealous young worker who was familiar with Spanish and French, took up his post in Antigua as sub-agent among the French and semi-French islands. He visited Martinique, St Martin's, St Eustache ("the Golden Rock" of the old Dutch days, when the great synagogue was small enough for its wealthy Jewish colony), Nevis, St Thomas, Dominica, Porto Rico (where only 15 per cent. of the population had received any schooling), and was settling down to work in Guadeloupe, when, in August 1898, he was called to Guatemala to relieve Señor Castells.

In 1899 Mr Edwin Heath, who had served some time in the Bible House, was appointed assistant to his father in Jamaica; and a year or two later, when he left to prepare himself for the Moravian Mission, his sister took his place in the depôt of the agency at Kingston.

The flying visits of the agent gave a buoyant vigour and an *esprit de corps* which had long been needed in the West Indies. Year after year, despite epidemic and disaster and the prolonged depreciation which fell upon sugar-planters and traders, the interest in the cause strengthened.

With the aid of regular subsidies the Scriptures were

widely spread among the motley population of Guiana. The Berbice Auxiliary — a model of catholic unity from Archdeacon Farrar's time—had its Bible Sunday, its Bible van, its village Bible meetings; and its Biblemen explored the leagues of coast plantations and ascended to the Indians on the Berbice and Calcani. Free passes on train and steamer enabled the men from Demerara to cover the whole of the western sea-board, and to reach every landing-place on the Demerara river for a hundred miles inland to the Cataracts, the timber-grants and the gold-mines on the Petaro, and each village and sugar estate along the Demerara Railway and Public Road. In 1896 Georgetown had its first Biblewoman. Lady Sendall, the president of the Ladies' Association, which did yeoman service from its formation in 1890, was enrolled among the Society's Life Governors in 1902; and the president of the Auxiliary, Mr P. P. Fairbairn, who had begun as secretary in 1884, was similarly honoured in the Centenary Year. The two Auxiliaries (Georgetown and Berbice) sent home £279 in free contributions, and purchased Scriptures to the value of £1653 in the first decade of the period.

Several thousands of Negro-French Testaments were supplied to Surinam on missionary terms, and in the last years of our survey a colporteur was hard at work in and around Cayenne, the gloomy and vicious capital of French Guiana.

As in Guiana, East Indians formed a third of the population of Trinidad. The Canadian Coolie Mission, which obtained its supplies from the Indian Auxiliaries, looked to their spiritual welfare. Colporteurs and booksellers on commission, circulating from 1500 to 1900 copies a year, travelled through the island and carried the Word of God to Tobago. The free contributions from the Auxiliaries at Port of Spain and San Fernando amounted to £547, and their purchase account in the first ten years to £773.

With £818 to its credit in free gifts and £1074 on purchase account, Barbados was one of the outstanding contributories in the West Indies, though much more might have been done among its many churches and 180,000 inhabitants, if the clergy had taken the Bible cause more warmly to heart. From this centre, as we have noted, the Christian Mission sent out its colporteurs and colporteur-evangelists, men and women. In St Vincent, where the agent had not been encouraged to address congregations, successful tours were made, the Scriptures were stocked at a number of points round the coast; and the hardy mountain girls of the island went Bible-selling in Grenada, where also the clergy had for some time been civilly distant.

Work in Martinique was taken up by Mr and Mrs Perry, who changed their name to Poirier, as "less English and more nice." They met with the usual Romish hostility. Persons were excommunicated, Bibles burned; but still the people bought, and met in each other's houses to read. Mayor and Commissary of Police tried to keep them away from the Gospel-room, but soon the police themselves were among the audience which crowded it three nights a week. On the 8th May 1902 a ship crawled into Port Castries, St Lucia — grey with ashes, her rigging, sails, awnings charred and dishevelled, and dead men lying on the hot volcanic dust heaped upon her decks. It was the steamer *Roddam*, the only vessel that escaped from the harbour of St Pierre, when Mont Pelée rained fire and death over Martinique. Happily the Poiriers had left the island some days earlier. In St Vincent some 1600 lives were lost through the eruption of La Souffrière. For the poor survivors of these disasters, and indeed in all the calamities which befell the people of the islands, the Committee readily gave the free comfort of the Word of God.

In July 1891 died the Hon. G. L. Bellot at the age of eighty. French by descent and a Roman Catholic by birth,

he had been the leading spirit of the Dominica Auxiliary since 1856. In 1894, 500 copies of the Gospel of St Mark, in Dominica *patois*, translated by Dr Numa Rat, a physician of St Kitt's, were published for the natives of the French islands, but were strongly disapproved "as a stumbling-block" by the Dominica Auxiliary. The free contributions from Antigua amounted to £130; the purchase account exceeded £304.

At the Centenary Archdeacon Hutson was president of the St Thomas Auxiliary, with which he had been closely connected for thirty years; and the Rev. D. Wilshere, secretary of the Bahamas Auxiliary from 1878, was still at his post. Two depôts in St Thomas, and one in Santa Cruz supplied the Virgin cluster; and the colporteurs of Nassau visited the outliers of the Bahama group, which purchased Scriptures to the value of £324, while the free contributions (£237) included £5, from "a family consisting of two brothers and two sisters" in the island, on which, upon an October night four centuries back, Columbus saw the first lights of the New World.

A depôt, dependent on Kingston (Jamaica), was formed on the Island of Grand Turk; and the Scriptures, carried over to Hayti and San Domingo in the small local schooners, escaped the heavy duty on ordinary imports. In the intervals between revolutions, Mr Heath visited the Black and Brown Republics. Hateful alike to the Romish clergy and the dreaded Voudoo priests, the Word of God spread into the country, and near Jacmel, the people, like the South Sea islanders seventy years earlier, "joyfully gave up in return their idols, drums and sacred stones."

Kingston, as we have seen, was the arterial centre of the agency. All was interest and energy from Lucea to the Blue Mountains. A Scotch colporteur, sometimes two, worked in the capital and among the shipping. The Church Army had its people in the field. Although trustworthy men were

not common, ministers and Auxiliary officials supervised small local staffs — sturdy barefoot negroes, it might be, who, with their books on their woolly heads, went out for a week or a fortnight together to the markets, plantations and villages, putting up here or there for a night, or sleeping on a wayside piazza. They were welcome everywhere. So general, indeed, was the desire to possess the Scriptures that in out-of-the-way places, where Chinese and East Indians opened small provision stores, they kept Bibles for sale. Possibly some old African fetichism mingled with this reverence for the Book of God, but all could read, and the study of the sacred page would dissolve this darkness in its unfailing light.

Among the wanderers of strange race who had drifted to these shores were numbers of Syrians—pedlars for the most part, with their sword-sticks, trinkets and curious Eastern wares, who in time became shopkeepers and merchants. One, whom Colporteur Macdonald met, came from Bethlehem. Another, who was delighted to buy Van Dyck's Arabic Bible, knew the Doctor in Beyrout — had seen the people crowd about him, anxious to kiss his hand.

Among old friends in Jamaica were the Rev. E. E. Reinke, of the Manchester Auxiliary, who was appointed a Life Governor in 1892, and Dr and Mrs Johnson, who in eighteen years had distributed 20,000 copies.

In 1899 the Kingston Auxiliary was revived after another of its lapses, and in the following year its president, the Archbishop of the West Indies, took the chair at a hearty annual meeting.

With all its shortcomings Jamaica maintained its leading financial position. Its free contributions slightly exceeded £998; and in the first decade its purchase account was over £4128.

At the close of the period the West Indian Agency numbered thirty Auxiliaries, with five Branches and one

Ladies' Association (Demerara). From 1891 onward, 391,938 copies of Scripture (including 181,667 Bibles — the largest proportion in any agency) were put into circulation; but these figures did not cover the islands and Auxiliaries in direct communication with the Bible House. Direct intercourse, indeed, increased steadily throughout the period, so that the bulk of the Scriptures sent to the West Indies were consigned to the different Auxiliaries and the other distributing agencies.

The total purchase account[1] amounted to £9142, 15s.; the total free contributions to £3470, 9s.; and £6071, 16s. was received through correspondents and missionaries. The Society's expenditure in connection with the agency came to £20,341, 14s.

[1] "Purchase account" dropped from the Reports after 1894, but the figure, in the case of vigorous organisations, was generally at least equalled in the second decade.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

THE FIVE CENTRAL REPUBLICS

THE arrival of Señor Castells in Costa Rica in the autumn of 1893 was auspiciously timed. The Honduras Auxiliary, whose records went back with various breaks to 1818, had just been revived at Belize. Costa Rica was on the eve of an election in which the Clericals were defeated with disastrous results. The organ of the party was suppressed, the Bishop of San José and a number of his clergy, who a few weeks before had closed the bookshops against the Scriptures, were imprisoned, and a new law penalised the priestly manœuvre of declaring political opponents "eternally lost."

Spanish by descent and in speech, and equipped at all points by his training in Malaysia and the Philippines, Señor Castells was quickly master of the situation. The Governor of San José furnished him with a safe-conduct, the Railway Company gave him a free pass. In a little while he was far afield in Honduras and Guatemala, Nicaragua and Salvador,[1]—circulating the Scriptures, making friends, collecting information as to the native races and their languages. The priests scattered broadcast 50,000 tracts denouncing the Protestant Bible as spurious, but many of his sales were made in villages where there was no priest to interfere, where the people were ready to receive the Word

[1] At San Salvador he helped two young Americans travelling through the country with Edison's "Improved Phonograph," to replace the damaged Spanish "records" by reciting into the cylinders the parable of the Prodigal Son and the Ten Commandments in Spanish.

of God, and the illiterate gathered in eager groups around those who were able to read.

In the summer of 1897 the work of the Bible Society was noised abroad by the thousands who flocked to the International Exhibition in Guatemala City. Against a striking background of the flags of Great Britain and the five Republics were displayed the open volumes of the Society's versions in 200 languages; above them the text *La Verdad os hará libres*, "The truth shall make you free," caught the fancy of the crowds of visitors; hard by were arranged, with the co-operation of Dr Salazar, ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs, a number of sixteenth-century editions of the Vulgate (treasures of the disendowed Church transferred to the National Library), and a selection of MSS., including trials for heresy and death-warrants, from the archives of the Guatemala Inquisition. The President and ex-President of the Republic, the Spanish and Italian Ministers, and other notables took a deep interest in the splendid exhibit, to which the only gold medal of the section was awarded by a board of Roman Catholic judges; and a number of Portions were judiciously distributed. "Already," declared *La Republica*, which contained an enthusiastic account of Bible-work, "it is evident that in Guatemala many people feel, when hearing of the Bible Society, as if they ought to take off their hats."

Unnoticed in the gay throngs were some five hundred workmen, Indians of the down-trodden aborigines of the interior. Señor Castells visited them at their meal-time; they listened willingly to the parables of Our Lord, which he read from the Spanish Bible; those who knew Spanish translated for their comrades, and for whole days they talked of little else but the New Testament stories. The race in Guatemala numbered over 880,000, steeped for the most part in ancient heathenism; Spanish they refused to learn; the influence of the Church of Rome scarcely touched them. Cakchiquel,

the commonest of their tongues, was also spoken to some extent in Honduras and Salvador; and Castells set himself to master it, for the purpose of translating the Gospel of St Mark. It turned out, however, to be but a dialect of the widespread Quiché stock; and while continuing his own task, he was able to engage on another version of the Gospel the best Quiché scholar in the country, Don Felipe Silva, who had spent his life as a Government official among the aborigines.

Meanwhile Mark in Carib, translated by the Rev. J. F. Laughton of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, had been published at the request of Dr Ormsby, the Bishop of Honduras, and Señor Castells set out on a tour of 1000 miles —225 on foot, 150 by train, 200 by steamer, 370 in canoe and sailing boat, 100 on horseback—to make it known among the Carib settlements. At the sound of the native sea-shell and the cry of "Uganu binditi!" ("The good news!") the people flocked together. They listened and bought readily, and their visitor soon "came to be known as the Good-news Man." It was just a hundred years since the last remnant of the warlike Carib nation had been deported from St Vincent by the British.[1] From Ruatan Island they had spread along the shores of Honduras and up the rivers; still a separate race, preserving the dark superstitions, the devil-worship, and (it was believed with good reason) the cannibal sacrifices of their ancestors. The Good News touched their heathen hearts. An appeal for more books came from inland settlements, and the Queen of the Caribs herself applied to the United States consul. Another edition was printed, and in 1901 the Gospel of St John was issued—in all, 2538 copies.

In Guatemala City the priests got wind of the Quiché translation, and promptly interposed, but Don F. Silva, who

[1] A military expedition had been planned for their extermination. "The name of the philanthropist who stayed it should not be forgotten: it was Granville Sharp." —Payne, *History of the New World called America*, vol. i. p. 154.

had felt there was a spell in the book (*algo que atrae*, "something that draws"), was unmoved by their inducements; and in 1898 the Gospel was finished amid a turmoil of revolutions and war-scares in all five Republics. A few weeks later Señor Castells saved the MS. from a fire which broke out in the block of houses in which he lived, and took it to the Minister of Public Works. "Dear friend," said the latter, "I saw at our Exhibition last year something of what your Society is doing to educate the world in the truths of Christianity, and it would please me greatly if our Government could print this new version on its own account, but the recent troubles make that impossible." By his order, however, Mark was given precedence of all other matter, and in April 1000 copies—Quiché in parallel columns with the Spanish of Valera—passed through the State press at a nominal charge.

With a high heart Castells set out for the Quiché hill-country in the west. He had been warned of the dangers of such a journey. All his Indian projects indeed had been sharply criticised. The tribes were declared too brutish to understand Christianity; their wretched jargon did not admit of Bible translation. The Committee and their representative were visionaries. Even missionaries were slow to acknowledge the claims of these poor aborigines. Yet in these hopeless regions the Good-news Man and his books were welcomed gladly. In less than four months the whole edition was exhausted. A second edition, 5000 copies, was printed in Costa Rica in 1899. In the following year the first missionary settled among the Quichés, and found his way wonderfully prepared for him. In 1902 a third edition appeared at Belize. Luke and John in Maya had been printed in the sixties for the Wesleyan missionaries in Yucatan. The veteran translator, the Rev. Richard Fletcher, was still alive at Hull, and saw the Gospels of Matthew and Mark through the press in 1900. Once again experience

proved that the language in which the Word of God could not be spoken to His children was yet to be discovered.

After six years of arduous labour Señor Castells sailed for Europe in September 1898 on a well-earned furlough. Mr Mellowes, from the Leeward Islands, took up his work, but while in Nicaragua in the following year fell ill of malaria, and resigned his post. When Castells returned, it was to be an independent agency which extended from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to that of Panamá—an area of nearly 186,000 square miles, with a population of 5,500,000, very largely aborigines and half-castes.

It was called a Christian land, but "the people hardly knew the alphabet of Christian doctrine." "As with ancient paganism, ritual went hand in hand with immorality." Here were the priests with their music and pageants, their miraculous black crucifixes and wonder-working Madonnas, their guilds and confraternities. Here, in Guatemala, the Government, "shaking off the trammels of mediæval superstition," established a yearly Festival of Minerva; the school children, singing and strewing flowers, trooped round a statue of the old pagan Goddess of Wisdom; and the State orator bade them understand "that the Minerva Festival was the apotheosis of Free-thought, the only possible factor of our national culture." Here were masses of Hondurenians besotted with witchcraft and seeking for books of *Magica*. In Salvador 60 per cent. of the children were illegitimate; and 68 per cent. of the men and 80 per cent. of the women could not sign their own names. On the Feast of Corpus Christi, the High Street of Guatemala City was lined with gambling tables, farmed out to the highest bidder. "The unwholesome literatures of the Old Continent," declared the *Diario de San Salvador*, "have maddened and wasted our intellectual youth. . . . Alcohol is our evil spirit. . . . Every one gets drunk, from the common labourer to the most stilted aristocrat."

The number of colporteurs was increased to eight, to thirteen, to sixteen. Biblewomen were found for Masaya, Belize and San Salvador. Nowhere in the range of the Society's work was the Word of God circulated amid stranger scenes and surroundings than here between the Indian villages of Chiapas and the peaks in Darien, between the waters of the Pacific and the island-labyrinth of the Chiriqui lagoon. On the banana farms of the lagoon Chinese settlers were among the purchasers. Further north, along the Moskito coast, a very network of streams, the men sold the native Testament translated by the Moravian Mission. They were storm-stayed by tropic rains and inundations; they were detained by sanitary cordons in districts ravaged by yellow fever; they worked in villages threatened by rumbling volcanoes, in towns besieged by revolutionists or shaken by earthquake. The gunboats of warring Republics conveyed their supplies of Scripture. Denunciations from the pulpit and in the press did them little harm. More than once a Ministerial letter of commendation saved them from arrest or secured them an apologetic release. The destruction of a few books was generally followed by the purchase of many others, and in one instance the effect was remarkable. In the course of a visitation the Archbishop of Guatemala solemnly committed a number of Bibles to the depths of Lake Atitlan. He was horrified to find the people of a neighbouring parish burning their sacred images. They had read the Bible, and learned to reverence it; and the news of his sacrilegious act had decided them to join the Evangelical Mission.

The headquarters of the agency were removed to Belize in 1901, and in October that year Mr William Keech joined Señor Castells as sub-agent in the wide field, which was rapidly "whitening" for the missionary. On the termination of the war between Mexico and the Maya Indians, work began in Yucatan, and the Bible shared with Roman Catholic

books of devotion the privilege of import duty-free. Little was possible during the struggle of Panamá to break away from Colombia and the Spanish friars, who had flocked thither with their treasure from the Philippines; but peace threw open, and the *coup d'état* which achieved independence secured a new province for colportage.

From 1893 to 1900 the circulation averaged some 4400 copies a year. In 1902 it exceeded 19,400. At the end of 1903 it had risen to 30,785. The total for the eleven years was upwards of 103,400 copies.

In what out-of-the-way nooks one came upon traces of the effect of the work! Towards nightfall Castells found himself at Sabaneta, a poor mountain hamlet in Guatemala. As he sat at supper he heard the rude music of the Indian *marimba* and sounds of rejoicing. It was the *Noche Buena*, explained the innkeeper, "the Good Night," Christmas Eve; there was no priest for twenty miles round, and the people were celebrating the Divine Birth as it was first celebrated by St Francis. The floor of the largest house was strewn with sprays of pine, the walls were hung with flowers, and in a circle of lighted candles clay figures represented the scene at Bethlehem. Castells proposed to read the very story of the Nativity. While he read he saw with surprise seven or eight persons with Gospels or Testaments following him verse by verse. A strange man had brought the books to these mountains a little time ago, and the passages he had just read had been read a few minutes before by one of their own number.

In the last seven years of the period 5000 Gospels had been sold to the Indians alone, and had been paid for in eggs, starch, cocoa beans, logwood, and other oddments. Arrangements were in progress for another edition of the Aztec Luke, published seventy years before; and the Gospel of St John in Bribri was about to be printed for the Talamanca Indians in Costa Rica. More than this, Señor Castells had taught

two blind Spaniards to read the Scriptures—the first blind men, it is said, ever taught to read in Central America, and they were teaching others.

The agency received every encouragement from the Republican Governments. Free postage, free freight, passes or reduced fares by rail or water considerably relieved the burden on the funds of the Society. As it was, the expenditure in connection with the agency from 1899 amounted to £5800; and though the receipts from sales did not exceed £1314, the smallness of the return was chiefly due to depreciation of currency (in Guatemala the dollar had fallen to the value of 5d.) and the disappearance of silver from circulation. The British, American and Spanish consuls were unfailing in good offices. Co-operation was heartily given by twenty-five voluntary helpers, most of them connected with the six different missions at work in Central America. The Auxiliary at Belize flourished under the presidency of the Governor of Honduras, and in the Centenary Year Bishop Ormsby accepted office as Vice-President of the Society. The American Bible Society was also in the field, and a friendly understanding provided against overlapping. Finally, in 1903, Señor Castells and Mr Stark, the agent of the Andean Republics, met in Panamá, and linked up the New World system of the Society from Bermuda to Patagonia.

All things pointed to a large and beneficent future, which should perchance realise the curious prophecy of the Priests of the Sun; for in the dim past, before the caravels of Columbus stretched into the west, these Ahkihab looked forward to a time when "there should be an end of the worship of vain gods," and when he who beheld that day "would be accounted blessed, if in sorrow he should weep over his sins."

CHAPTER LXXIX

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

HERE we reach the last stage in our world-wide record.

It was not a new thing, but never was the contrast between the old Province of Quebec and the rest of the Dominion so vivid as in the last twenty years of our history. From the Saguenay to the Ottawa the common language was French. "In some remote communities even now (1896) English is never spoken, and is understood only by the *curé* or notary."[1] Among the Laurentian hills one came upon churches, Calvaries, farmsteads, hamlets, which seemed "bits" of an older Brittany. "The whole land is practically parcelled out among the Saints so far as the nomenclature of the towns and villages is concerned."[2] The Church of Rome was dominant as in no other country, perhaps, but Spain and Austria.

Outside this land of the Saints had sprung up a land of the Bible. In the clearings of pine and maple, on the great rivers, along the lake shores, towns and villages of a new England, a new Scotland, a new Ireland appeared in an odd geographical medley. Iona and Durham and Innisfail; Melrose, Lambeth and Tara; Paisley, Battersea, Tyrone—scores of names from the three kingdoms—made the Far West homely with memories of "the old country." In June 1886 the first daily train ran through from Montreal to the Pacific. Along the track, and away from the track, settlements and farms, here and there a small town, broke the

[1] Bourinot, *Canada*, p. 428.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 431.

sameness of the hundreds of miles of almost treeless prairie grass. In 1885 the Toronto Auxiliary had reached Brandon in Manitoba. Thence a chain of Branches — Moosomin, Broadview, Qu'Appelle, Regina, Moose Jaw, Maple Creek —stretched through Assiniboia to Medicine Hat, crossed the South Saskatchewan, and passed through Alberta Province to Calgary. From Calgary the Rocky Mountains were clearly seen a hundred miles away, and Calgary was 840 miles west of Winnipeg, and Winnipeg 1600 from Quebec.

In 1894 there were sixty-two Branches in these new regions, and Banff, Kamloops and Revelstoke linked the great Auxiliary of Upper Canada with its dependencies of New Westminster, Victoria and Nanaimo. The stream of British and foreign immigration flowed on unchecked.[1] Before the period closed 40 languages were spoken in the Dominion—30 might be heard in the streets of Winnipeg—and the Holy Scriptures were sold in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, in 24 European and 5 Oriental languages, in Zulu, and in the Red Indian dialects.

The period was the brightest in the Bible story of the Dominion. At its close there were, east and west, 13 Auxiliaries. The Branches numbered 1216; and of these 599 belonged to Toronto. The total receipts of the twenty years amounted to £113,212,[2] of which nearly one half (£52,019) came from Toronto and its Branches. The tale of Scripture distribution is incomplete; but Toronto circulated 685,568 copies, bringing its aggregate from the year 1840 to 1,925,710; Montreal approximately 389,000, making an estimated aggregate of 973,800; and Quebec distributed about 43,000 copies.

Scarcely had the period begun when a call to arms gave

[1] In the ten years 1884-93 there were 262,948 immigrants of English origin; in the six 1896-1901 there were 184,000 foreigners.

[2] The figure is an understatement. From 1894 "free contributions" alone were entered in the returns. For the last ten years of the period, therefore, no purchase account appeared.

occasion for a special distribution of Scriptures. The half-breeds under Riel had again risen in the North-West. Troops and volunteers were hurried to the front; Toronto and Montreal provided 4000 New Testaments so that every man in the expedition should have a copy; the Red Cross corps was equipped; and Western Ontario (London), Belleville Branch, Fredericton and Prince Edward Island supplied the contingents from their own districts.

In this year (1885) Kingston threw in its lot with Toronto, for the sake of efficiency and economy; and on 12th May 1886 the great Auxiliary of the Dominion dedicated its new Bible House, rebuilt by local subscriptions and donations on the site presented by Mr Jesse Ketchum in 1858.[1] In 1890 it celebrated its jubilee as "the Upper Canada Bible Society." During the half-century it had circulated 1,485,292 copies of Scripture—an annual average of 29,700, but the average for the last six years had been 40,700, in twenty-seven languages; and its income for the year exceeded £6688, the largest ever attained in its history. It was visited by Mr Aston Binns, the Honorary Home-secretary, in the course of his tour through the Dominion in 1891; in 1892 it contributed £350 to the special deficit fund of the Parent Society; and notwithstanding a long term of commercial depression, maintained its large free contributions up to 1898.

During these years the number of local minister-agents increased to 32, five of whom were stationed in Manitoba, or further west; the staff of Biblemen was enlarged to 12—one among the fisheries, canneries, trains, cattle-ranches and mines in British Columbia; six along the course of the Red River and in the prairie provinces, where homesteads stood four and six miles apart on strange roads, and versions were needed, among others, for Chinese, Icelanders, Germans

[1] As heretofore the Upper Canada Religious Tract and Book Society shared the building, but the business of each Society was quite separate.

and Jews. In these great tracts good Bible-work was also done by the colporteurs of the Religious Tract and Book Society; and in many a lonely spot, here and elsewhere in the Dominion, the settlers had no religious services but those conducted by the devoted Biblemen.

During the wild rush to the Klondyke for gold in 1897[1] quantities of pocket Testaments were despatched for circulation among the adventurers hurrying through Vancouver, and supplies were sent to the missionaries stationed near the fields. The work, too, in British Columbia was largely extended. Numbers of people were found who had no part of the Word of God, and who "did not want any," but many English and foreign seamen on the whaling ships took a Bible or Testament with them on their two years' cruise.

In 1900, on their tour through the Dominion, after attending the New York Œcumenical Missionary Conference, Canon Edmonds and the Rev. James Thomas visited Toronto, "the Queen City" (mirrored for eight miles in the waters of Lake Ontario), and were present at the sixtieth anniversary of the Auxiliary. The Branches were now adopting the plan of holding annual mass meetings alternately in the different churches for the advocacy of Bible circulation in all lands and tongues, and as these were conducted by the local office-bearers and resident clergy, the expense of "deputations" was saved. In 1902 a special gift of £1000 was sent to the Bible House towards clearing off the deficit of recent years, and in the summer of the last year of the period two of the directors of the Auxiliary were commissioned to survey the actual condition and the requirements of the work in its remote provinces. Between Sault Ste Marie and Vancouver they visited forty-seven of the most important places, delivered

[1] Gold was discovered in August 1896 by George W. Carmach. The Klondyke, a corruption of the Tukudh "Trhokhndik" or Driftwood River, joins the Yukon at Dawson City, not many miles from old Fort Reliance.

over a hundred addresses, resuscitated lapsed organisations, conferred with old friends, and made new ones among persons who had hitherto but little knowledge of the Bible Society. Westward from Lake of the Woods there were now 103 Branches; and among the curiously mixed population served by the colporteurs were the Swedish and Norwegian settlers, the Icelandic colony in Manitoba, and the Dukhobors from the Caucasus and the Galicians in Assiniboia.

On the Toronto roll of friends departed one notices the name of Robert Baldwin, "permanent secretary," and of the Bishops of Niagara, Huron and Algoma. In 1901, when Lord Minto was patron, Igantius Cockshutt passed away at the age of eighty-nine. In 1812, when Close and Evans collected Bible pennies in Hull, he was born in Bradford. He migrated to Canada in the days when a voyage from Liverpool to Montreal took seven weeks, and five were spent on the journey thence to Toronto; saw Brantford grow from the village of an Indian chief to a busy industrial centre; and for sixty years held office as treasurer of Brantford Branch, which he generously supported, and which vied with Hamilton in the liberality of its contributions. From 1883 he had been a vice-president of the Toronto Auxiliary. In July the same year (1901) the Auxiliary lost the Hon. G. W. Allan, its president since 1860, who, despite the important positions he held in the Legislature, was rarely absent from its meetings, and attended the last session of the board a few weeks before his death. In the Centenary Year the grave closed over one of its oldest vice-presidents, the Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat, G.C.M.G., "Premier and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, one of the leading figures in public life."

An increase in the number of Branches from 64 to 93, a fairly steady free contribution of £150 a year, a special gift of £500 to the deficit fund in 1892, indicate the some-

what silent progress of the Western Ontario Auxiliary. "I may be permitted to write to you again, or I may not," were the closing words of the aged Dr Evans in 1891, "but all is well." He retired from his post after the visit of Mr Aston Binns, and in the following year, on the verge of ninety, passed tranquilly to his rest. Canon Edmonds and Mr Thomas were present at the annual meeting in 1900—"the most satisfactory gathering in the long history of the Auxiliary." They found the whilome Forest City "the centre of the richest farming country in the province"; and "during the past few years the workers had failed to find a home in Western Ontario without a copy of God's Word." It was scarcely yet a century since Governor Simcoe had knelt between the river and the wilderness and offered his memorable prayer.

The district of the Perth Auxiliary was worked by arrangement with the Ottawa staff, and its own function was almost wholly that of a collecting centre. As time passed the operations of the Ottawa Auxiliary grew in interest and importance. In 1891 its aggregate circulation for thirty-five years exceeded 169,600; in 1895 it took the second place in the Dominion for free contributions; in 1904 its Branches had increased from 68 to 98. Its zealous agent, the Rev. R. Gavin, maintained the best traditions of extensive travel and telling addresses. Its Biblewoman visited between 3000 and 4000 homes. Its colporteurs—4 or 5 in the summer, 10 or 12 in the winter—laboured among the Jews, Italians, Germans, French in the capital, frequented the huge rafts with their rude population on the river, and spent months in the forests. In one year they covered 9760 miles, made 5400 calls, and held services in 161 lumber camps containing 7457 men. The Scriptures became more and more the timberman's companion; many Roman Catholics were found to have kept them for years; and

the earnestness of these lonely toilers was proved by their liberal subscriptions to the cause.

On their visit in May 1900, the deputation from the Committee saw the desolation caused by the terrible fire of the preceding month, which "wiped out the city of Hull on the other side of the river." The annual meeting at Hull was crowded, the chair was supported by nearly all the Protestant clergy of the city, the report told of steady advance in every department, and at the close of this year of trouble a free contribution of £500 was raised.

The venerable president, Mr George Hay, who had held office with the Governor-General, Lord Monck, lived to take part in the Centenary. In 1905, when he was over eighty years old and for nearly forty had been "the head and heart" of the Auxiliary, he was released from his charge and made honorary president for life.

The unflagging energy of Montreal, whose work was inseparable from a heavy purchase account, is clearly represented in its four quinquennial returns. Circulation and free contributions rose from 93,000 copies and £466 to 110,000 and £1768. Many thousands of volumes were issued as grants to schools, public institutions, Christian associations and missionary societies.

Seventeen new organisations raised the number of the Montreal Branches to 220. From 5 to 10 colporteurs, mostly French but with an Iroquois and a speaker of Gaelic among them, occupied the field. The number of Biblewomen was increased from 5 to 8. Two were supported by the Parent Society, which paid half the expense of a third employed among the 14,000 Italians in the city. In 1895 the Ladies' Auxiliary completed sixty-nine years of a beneficent activity, and for five-and-thirty it had directed the "Effort"—a Biblewoman mission modelled on Mrs Ranyard's scheme.

The death of William Lunn, one of the most interesting

of the Dominion Bible worthies, occurred in the summer of 1886. Born at Devonport in 1796, he entered the Government service and settled in 1819 at Montreal, then a city of 13,000 people, mostly of French extraction. In April 1820 he applied to the Committee for a supply of English Scriptures, and expressed the hope that in three months an Auxiliary would be formed in Montreal. In June his letter came before Lord Teignmouth, William Wilberforce and Thomas Babington, and 500 Bibles and Testaments were voted. They reached Canada in July, and were handed over to the Montreal Auxiliary, which was founded on the 20th August under the presidency of Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General, and which was thus enabled to begin operations without delay. Lunn was appointed its secretary, became afterwards one of its vice-presidents, and took through his long life an active interest in its proceedings.[1]

The Hon. John Ferrier, who was enrolled a Vice-President by the Committee in 1885, died 30th May 1888, in his eighty-eighth year, and was succeeded both as president of the Auxiliary and Vice-President of the Parent Society by Sir J. W. Dawson, K.C.M.G., LL.D. After long and valued service, in which he was seconded by Lady Dawson as directress of the "Effort" Mission, he too passed from this life, 19th November 1899, in his eightieth year—an educationist who "transformed M'Gill College into a rich and renowned University," a brilliant man of science who, in a crisis of unsettling discoveries and of flippant and arrogant scepticism, gave humble minds a master's assurance "that the Bible has nothing to dread from the revelations of geology, but much to hope in the way of elucidation of its meaning and confirmation of its truth."[2] Bishop Bond, as his successor,

[1] At the age of twenty-seven he was one of the founders of the Montreal General Hospital, and the chief pioneer of elementary education.

[2] Dawson, *The Origin of the World*, p. 359. Father Chiniquy, already mentioned in these pages, died in Montreal in January the same year. At least 4000 persons, chiefly French Roman Catholics, went to his house for a last look at his well-known

took the chair at the special meeting which welcomed the Society's visitors in 1900. At the close of that year the Auxiliary reached the high-water mark of its annual circulation—24,000 copies.[1] In 1903 died the Rev. James Green, the old travelling agent, who had retired in 1892. It was then forty-two years since he took service with the Auxiliary, and, doing his 4000 miles a year (in blazing sun and cold 30 degrees below zero), addressing from 25,000 to 30,000 people in the course of his journeys, laid the foundations for much of its future usefulness.

Opposed by a rich and intolerant priesthood, its circle of friends growing narrower year by year, the position of Quebec was the least hopeful of all the Auxiliaries. Assistance was heartily given by Toronto and Montreal; £500 was voted by the Committee in the course of three years, and happily the appointment of the Rev. E. J. Stobo as District-secretary in 1889 ushered in a period of unexampled progress. A Biblewoman was appointed, and six colporteurs, nearly all converts, ranged from Lake St John to the borders of Maine, and from Three Rivers to Gaspé. For the first time we hear in 1891 of a visit to the folk of the lighthouses and shipwrecked mariner shelters on sterile Anticosti. The numerous meetings which the secretary held on his three months' tours of 3000 and 4000 miles were attended by increasing numbers of Roman Catholics. Many he met in their own homes; by nearly all he was treated with kindness.

Between 14,000 and 16,000 families were called upon yearly, and the freer access, the larger sales and loans seemed connected with a new sense of freedom which was

face. Upwards of 10,000 French Roman Catholics and Protestants of all nationalities lined the streets or followed his coffin on the day of his funeral. Acknowledging a grant of 500 Bibles and 500 Gospels voted by the Committee in 1887, he referred to a remarkable convert, "the twenty-sixth priest" from whom he had helped to break "the heavy and ignominious yoke of the Pope."

[1] At this time the Montreal *Daily Witness* gave a column monthly to Bible Society news.

otherwise showing itself in an impatience of ecclesiastical absolutism and a demand for educational reform. But the hierarchy was unchanging. As late as 1897, in a British colony, the *Courier du Canada* warned the faithful against "the Protestant Bible" as one of the *mauvais livres* denounced by the Church.

The English deputation was warmly received at Quebec in May 1900.[1] The arduous character of the field was obvious. In six of the nineteen counties of the Quebec Auxiliary district there were only 44 Protestants among a population of 96,000.[2] In some of the villages the colporteurs could not obtain a lodging for the night. The possession or the reading of the Scriptures often led to loss of employment. To become a Protestant, it might be added, was "to cease to be a French Canadian, and to ally one's self to the enemies of one's race."[3] As the period closes we find the Committee and the Toronto Auxiliary repeating their annual subsidies of £250 and $3000, and Quebec completing for the final ten years a circulation exceeding 25,000 volumes —little, if at all, less than the circulation of the preceding twenty.

[1] May 18th; and the news of the relief of Mafeking had just been received with jubilation. Both Montreal and Quebec had presented Bibles, Testaments and Portions to the Canadian contingents of volunteers for South Africa.

[2] The area worked by the Quebec Auxiliary covered 178,000 square miles, with a population, predominantly French, of 560,000, among whom 24,000 were Protestants. That of the Montreal Auxiliary was 162,500 square miles; population, 1,080,000, of whom about 200,000 were Roman Catholics. In 1901 the population of the Dominion was 5,371,000: English-speaking, 3,721,000; French-speaking, 1,649,000; Protestant, 2,877,000; Roman Catholic, 2,230,000; miscellaneous creeds, 207,000.

[3] About the year 1887, in the county of Beauce, the Roman Catholics outnumbered the Protestants by seventy to one. Pierre Rodrique, a farmer at St Georges, bought a Sacy Testament from Colporteur Fresque, read it, and "was led to a saving knowledge of Christ." He obtained several dozens of copies, which he distributed among his neighbours, who began to meet at his house in the evening for prayer, reading and conference. The matter came to the ears of the priest. He went from house to house, denouncing and threatening, collected all the books in the place, and burned them in front of his church. Rodrique was cited before the Bishop, refused to make his submission, and was publicly cursed from the altar. The sequel is an instance of the power of the priest even in a free land under British rule. His cattle were hamstrung and poisoned; his only horse was killed; his barn demolished, his ripe barley-field set on fire. He was driven off his farm a ruined man. And yet there is a further sequel. To-day (1906) Rodrique is an evangelist in the State of Maine; his family is happy and prosperous at Waterville, and in that town there are nearly 200 families who followed them from Beauce and embraced the Reformed faith.

We return once more to Newfoundland and the Atlantic Auxiliaries. Here the receipts for the twenty years amounted to £24,690.[1] The free contributions came to £20,123—a fall of £3777 compared with the twenty years preceding. The difference was chiefly due to a decrease of £2600 in the free contributions from New Brunswick. Newfoundland dropped £757; Nova Scotia only £58.

For the most part the work ran on the old lines, and the spirit of old friends passing away lived anew in their successors. The Ladies' societies, with their Biblewomen, still occupied their characteristic position. The Halifax Association completed its fiftieth year in 1886; the Fredericton Ladies assisted the London Biblewomen's Mission with £40 a year; at the end of 1901, after eighty years of signal achievement, Miramichi, the pioneer in this form of work, became affiliated with the New Brunswick Auxiliary.

An excellent agent served New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and afterwards travelled Prince Edward Island, where the British American Book and Tract Society had helped in colportage. New Brunswick had fairly supplied its district with the Word of God, but in 1900 not more than one-tenth of the picturesque province had been cleared of virgin forest, the French population was steadily on the increase, and a future of great usefulness was opening before it. Nowhere on this eastern side of the Dominion were prospects brighter than in Nova Scotia. In 1889 Dr Rand passed away. His version had produced a great change among the Micmacs, but these Indians were merging into the population around them, and the younger generation were exchanging their native tongue for "good English."

The first contribution to the Parent Society from any British colony came from Pictou in Nova Scotia. One of the Secretaries, in acknowledging the receipt of £80 in June 1809, referred to a yet earlier gift of £64. The Auxiliary

[1] Exclusive of the purchase account for 1894-1904.

was founded in 1813; it still held its place in the list, with six Branches, at the Centenary. Its work was almost wholly contributory, and in all it transmitted £4662, of which, from 1836 onwards, only £596 was in payment of Scriptures.

The Prince Edward Island Auxiliary observed its jubilee in 1887-88. In the following year it lost a staunch friend in Chief Justice Palmer, who had been connected with it since its reorganisation in 1838. A colleague of the same distant date, Judge Young, president from 1881, passed away in 1902; his wife, a Lady Life Governor of the Parent Society, survived him but four years. A third president, Mr Charles Palmer, K.C., who had served on its committee for upwards of half a century, died in 1903. At that date colportage was still going on among the French population, and new Branches were strengthening the cause in the "Garden of the Gulf."

The annals of Newfoundland added another chapter to the story of the hazards, hardships and moving experiences of colportage. More than once the Labrador coast was visited; the Scriptures in various languages were taken on board the whalers, sealers, merchantmen and other craft in the harbour of St John's; in lonely settlements on remote inlets and scattered isles small groups met to attend the Bible-readings and religious services of the colporteurs. The Committee gave prompt assistance when the depôt at St John's was destroyed in the disastrous fire of 1892. The jubilee of the Auxiliary was celebrated with great enthusiasm on the 25th March 1896, and the president, the Hon. J. J. Rogerson, was elected a Vice-President of the Parent Society. Two years later six colporteurs were at work; two Bible-women were employed shortly afterwards; and in 1904 the total circulation of the Auxiliary, from its formation in 1846, amounted to 135,489 copies.

For the last time our survey sweeps over the vast terri-

tories of the Red Tribes, and we note with wonder how rapidly apostolic zeal carried the Bible to the icy verges of the continent. In 1884 the great Diocese of Athabasca was divided. The Rev. R. Young was appointed to the southern half as Bishop of Athabasca; Bishop Bompas moved into the north as Bishop of Mackenzie River, and in 1897 Herschel Island, within the Arctic Circle — "the mission furthest away from Jerusalem" — was occupied. The regions north of Caledonia and west of the Rocky Mountains became the Diocese of Selkirk in 1891;[1] once more Bishop Bompas retreated into the remoter wilds, and in 1897 a mission station was planted at Moosehide (Klondyke). Each fresh expansion widened the commission and added to the responsibilities of the Bible Society.[2]

Resuming the account of the Cree version: Mr Mason retired in 1870, became Vicar of Long Horsley, Northumberland — the birthplace of Morrison of China — and received the degree of D.D. from Archbishop Tait. Bishop Horden remained in Moosonie to the end. He had completed the whole Bible in Moose Cree, and in the last winter of his life he was busy almost daily with revision—the New Testament in the early morning, the Old Testament in the afternoon. He was in expectation of joining his family in England, when he was called away on the 12th January 1893. On the 21st he was laid to rest among his beloved Indian people.[3] Four days later Dr Mason died at Long Horsley. The basis of a definitive Cree version had been

[1] This was the limit of British Dominion. In 1867 the Czar had sold Alaska to the United States for $7,200,000. Whence a curious ecclesiastical dilemma. The Russians having reached Alaska by going east and the Americans by going west, the American Saturday was found to be the Russian Sunday. How were the festivals of the Greek Church to be held in future? The question was referred to the Holy Synod, and finally to the astronomer Struve, who reported in favour of the American reckoning.

[2] The Nonconformist Churches were no less active; but these episcopal divisions help to map out a vague and enormous territory.

[3] John Horden, son of a printer, born at Exeter, 20th January 1828; in early life a schoolmaster; accepted by the Church Missionary Society in 1850; ordained 1852; Bishop of Moosonee December 1872. "He was always one of my heroic people," said Archbishop Tait.

laid. After much correspondence on the harmonising of existing texts, it was decided in 1897 to revise Dr Mason's. A committee was appointed, but the task—virtually a re-translation — was assigned in the end to Archdeacon J. A. Mackay of Saskatchewan, and in 1904 the New Testament was issued.

In 1885 the Committee undertook for the Fort Chipewyan Indians a syllabic edition of the Four Gospels in Slavé (Tinné), translated by Bishop Bompas. While the work was in progress the Bishop completed the New Testament. It was printed in Latin type under the supervision of Archdeacon Reeve,[1] who prepared a copy in syllabics. Both forms were issued in 1891, and in the following year revision was begun with the help of native scholars.

For the Indians on the Beaver or Peace River, west of Fort Chipewyan, St Mark, by the Rev. A. C. Garrioch of Fort Vermilion, appeared in Latin type in 1886. Except for a small primer, it was the first book in the Beaver tongue, but further progress was stayed by the removal and ill-health of the translator.

Still further west the Gospel of St Matthew, by the Rev. J. W. Tims, twice revised with native assistance, was published in 1890 for the Blackfoot Indians on the edge of the Rocky Mountains in Calgary.

The Tukudh New Testament left the press in 1885, in an edition of 4000, and Archdeacon MacDonald proceeded with the translation of the Old Testament. In 1887 Bishop Bompas, now in the See of Mackenzie River, sent the thanks of the Diocesan Synod for the English Scriptures supplied for the use of church and school, for there were five stations at which English services were held for about one hundred English-speaking residents, and some of the Indians were acquiring the language. Between 1890 and 1892 Genesis–Leviticus, Numbers – Deuteronomy, Joshua–

[1] Afterwards Bishop of Mackenzie River.

1 Samuel were published. In 1897 the whole Bible was in the press, but the proofs took so many months to reach their destination, and progress was so slow, that to save time the translator was called to England.

Meanwhile the gold-rush to Klondyke had begun. Dawson City sprang up in a day. At the risk of death from hunger and Arctic cold, miners thronged into the icy waste. Great fires were lit to thaw the frozen earth in which untold treasure was locked. "About a thousand white men have just arrived," wrote Bishop Bompas in May 1897. "Very few bring Bibles with them, and unless they are supplied here they are liable to lose what little religion they may have had." Consignments were sent, and from that date the missionary with his dog-team was no uncommon visitor at the gold-camps. In 1902 Bibles and Testaments in English, German, Swedish and Finnish were despatched to Mr Gordon for distribution on the tributary creeks of the Forty Mile River, with a large English Bible for the lectern in St James' Mission Church, Forty Mile City.

Archdeacon MacDonald completed the printing of his version in London. The first cases of the Tukudh Bible were shipped to the Bishop in February 1899, and a second supply accompanied the translator on his return to his diocese. The Indians traded boards of dried meat, fish, deer-skin for Bible or Testament, and in a little while a Bishop was able to say he had never seen a family in that land which had not some part of God's Word in its camp wherever it journeyed.

Progress, again retarded by distance, was made with the Kwagutl version by Mr Hall in Vancouver. St John was issued in 1884; St Luke in 1894; Acts three years later, and St Mark, the last of the Gospels, in 1900. "On Sunday it was such a pleasure to see an Indian"—and once there was no fiercer savage than the marauding Kwagutl—"walk up to the lectern, and read without hesitation Acts xii.

in Kwagutl. . . . Missionaries," added Mr Hall, "know how to pray for, and praise for, the B.F.B.S."

St Matthew's Gospel, translated by the Rev. C. Harrison —the first book in Haida, the language of the Queen Charlotte islanders—was printed by the Committee in 1891. The Acts, by his successor, the Rev. J. H. Keen, appeared in 1898, and the Gospels of St Luke and St John in 1899. Genesis, Psalms and 1 Corinthians were in manuscript, but printing seems to have been stopped by the rapid dwindling of the race.[1]

Remain the tribes of the Eskimo. In 1887 the Committee consigned 500 copies of the poetical books of the Old Testament to the Moravian Brethren in Labrador. This was the last Bible House freight carried by the last *Harmony*. She left the seas in 1900. Two hundred Psalters were granted in 1902. In 1903 a revision of the Isaiah of 1837 passed through the press at Herrnhut. The long record, begun in 1809, closed with the despatch of 1500 Old Testament Portions.

But a beginning had been made in the dialect of the tribes in Baffin's land. From 1876 to 1884 the Rev. E. J. Peck had laboured among the Eskimo of the Great and Little Whale Rivers, which flow into Hudson's Bay, and he was the first Englishman to cross the savage tracts between that inland sea and the Bay of Ungava. In August 1894 he took up his post on Blacklead Island in Cumberland Sound—an "end of the earth," visited but once in two years by the Peterhead whaling brig *Alert*. There he built with whale-jaws and seal-skin the "Tabernacle in the Wilderness," preached the Gospel, and taught his people to read syllabic. Two years later he brought home and saw through the press he Four Gospels—likely to be useful, he thought, along

[1] In 1840 their number was estimated at 8328; in 1886 at about 2000; "to-day (1906) the total native population of the islands would not exceed 700."—Hill-Tout, *Native Races of British North America*, p. 28.

2000 miles of coast. Another edition of these, reproduced by photo-process, was printed in 1902 for the Eskimo around Fort George on James Bay. In 1902 as he anchored, in Davis Straits, off a settlement eighty miles within the Arctic Circle, the Eskimos came off in their kayaks. Among them was a woman he had taught to read in the Tabernacle of seal-skin. On leaving Cumberland Sound she had taken her books with her, and had taught her people along those bleak shores. His return home at the close of that year enabled him to revise his Four Gospels, and reprint them with the Acts, which had been translated by his colleague, Mr. C. G. Sampson, on the basis of the Labrador text, and partly rewritten by himself.

Up to 1904 the Society had printed, in all, 91,678 copies of the Word of God in fifteen native languages and dialects of British North America, and these included 1010 Bibles in Tukudh, and 5050 Bibles and 14,396 Testaments in Cree. In how many minds must have arisen the thought expressed by one of the Red Men when he read the first Gospel in his own tongue: "Aforetime we had the door ajar, and a little light [from the texts given them to commit to memory] shone into the dark and dismal home. Now we see the Saviour walking and talking, and going on from Bethlehem to Olivet, leading right up to the throne of God."

Of the expenditure or of the receipts of the Society for this period in connection with mission work, grants to schools, public institutions, etc., there is no record. In direct aid to the Auxiliaries its outlay was £8725.

The receipts from the whole of the Auxiliaries during the period came to £113,212; of which £76,933 was free contributions.[1] The total receipts from beginning to end amounted to £346,493, and of this sum £163,365 was, from

[1] In the course of the twenty years the remittances from the Toronto Auxiliary alone amounted to £52,019, of which £31,664 was in free contributions. Ottawa, Montreal, Western Ontario, Quebec and the Atlantic Auxiliaries sent home an aggregate of £52,970, of which £37,049 was "free."

1834, free contributions. First and last between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 copies of Scripture were sown broadcast over British North America.[1]

The story ends only to begin again in the brightness of a new order of things. In response to pressing invitations from many loyal friends and helpers, the Rev. John Ritson visited Canada in September 1904, as Secretarial Commissioner, to discuss the future of the Society and more effective methods of organisation. A conference, attended by nearly seventy delegates from all parts of the Dominion, was held at Toronto on the 14th-15th, at which he sketched, in a masterly appeal, the outline of a great Canadian League of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which should consist of federated Unions of Auxiliaries, each doing its own home mission work, and all brought into intimate relations with the Bible House by a General Secretary, who, while he had no authority over Union or Auxiliary and acted in counsel with the committee of the League, should correlate the work of all, edit and superintend the circulation of literature, control miscellaneous distribution of Scriptures, and watch the movements of population. The result was the formation of "The Canadian Bible Society Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society"; to which, with a single exception, all the Auxiliaries gave in their adhesion. In 1905 Ottawa joined the federation, and the new century began with the work mapped out in a splendid league of five Unions from Newfoundland to the Pacific.

[1] Results are in the hands of God, yet here it may be noted that the immunity of Canada from a Red Indian war was ascribed by observers on the spot to the influence of the Bible.

CHAPTER LXXX

TE DEUM LAUDAMUS

So our survey closes. It was of a curiously smaller world that the Trojan exclaimed with less reality, *Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris!*

It remains to sum up the results of the work we have described.

In the course of these fifty years 158 million copies of Scripture were sown broadcast across the four quarters of the globe. That vast figure raised the whole distribution of the Society to the unimaginable total of 186 million copies for the century. A marvellous expansion of enterprise, a more urgent appeal for the Word of God, an increasingly rapid rate of production marked, as we have seen, each successive interval of time. The issues of the first half-century gave a yearly average of nearly 559,000 copies; in the next fifteen years the average leaped up to 1,951,000; in the last fifteen years of the century it reached 4,436,000. The circulation of the last five years alone exceeded that of the first forty-nine by nearly 90,000 copies.

The conquest of strange tongues swiftly multiplied the number of Scripture Portions; but apart from these, the growth of circulation was undreamed of. Close upon 39 million Bibles and upwards of 58 million New Testaments were dispersed in the last half-century, compared with 10 million Bibles and nearly 17 million Testaments in the first. The yearly issues of Bibles amounted for the

first time to half a million in 1853; it reached a million in the last year of the century.[1]

The addition of 226 languages brought the native tongues into which the Word of God had been translated, wholly or in part, to 378 on the Society's version list.[2]

We have described the unstable conditions upon which the Society depended for its existence. It was not the least wonderful circumstance in its history that it was never denied means in proportion to its necessities. The expenditure of the first fifty years amounted to £4,070,251; that of the second to £10,123,367. The increase was one of 148 per cent.; but the increase of 260 per cent. in the issue of Bibles and Testaments alone[3] suggests the economy and efficiency with which its resources were applied to the widening range of its translations and revisions, its new agencies, and the enlarged machinery of production and distribution.[4]

[1] The following figures show the work of the first fifty years in 152 languages, and of the second fifty when the number of languages had grown to 378:—

	Bibles	Testaments	Portions	Total
1804-1854:	10,125,270	16,890,460	922,901	27,938,631
1854-1904:	38,899,434	58,593,724	61,248,312	158,741,470
	49,024,704	75,484,184	62,171,213	186,680,101

[2] The various languages in which the Society published the whole or portion of the Scriptures were:—

	Bibles	Testaments	Portions	Total	
European	36	18	22	76	Languages
Asiatic	36	42	59	137	,,
African	13	20	55	88	,,
American	3	4	21	28	,,
Oceanic	11	7	31	49	,,
	99	91	188	378	,,

[3] Adding the Portions, nearly 61¼ millions, which largely indicated the breaking of new ground, the numerical increase was 468 per cent.

[4] In 1902-03, when expenditure reached the highest point attained in any year (£254,000), the income and outlay of every 5s. was balanced as under:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Cost of Scriptures	2	5	Sales	1	10
Transport charges	0	2	Free Contributions	1	9
Agencies and depôts	0	10	Legacies, donations	0	10
Colporteurs and Biblewomen	1	0	Dividends, etc.	0	2
Home Staff	0	5	From Reserve	0	5
Societies subsidised	0	2			
	5	0		5	0

Thus, through the sequence of a hundred eventful years, with influences on the lives of men and the progress of States visible enough in these pages; with a quickening power, not always recognised, on the activity of the Churches and the projects of philanthropy; with personal illuminations and rebirths recorded in no earthly book, the Society worked out, so far, its mission to the world.

As the hundredth year drew nigh, all thoughts turned to the celebration of the Centenary on a scale and in a spirit worthy of the event. A Centenary Grand Committee, with Mr Caleb R. Kemp in the chair, met in council at Sion College on 31st October 1901. Delegates from 250 Auxiliaries and many friends and supporters were present. Methods and means were discussed, and two paramount schemes were unanimously adopted—the observance of a universal Bible Sunday on 6th March 1904, and the raising of a Centenary Fund of at least a quarter of a million guineas as a thank-offering for the blessings conferred upon the world through the circulation of the Holy Scriptures.[1]

Thenceforward to the great festival itself the busy months were more and more crowded with the thousand details of organisation, in addition to the normal work of the Society. The energies of Secretaries, District-secretaries, Honorary County-secretaries, taxed to the uttermost and even over-taxed, were enthusiastically supplemented by the services of volunteers of all kinds—old friends, members of the Parent Committee, Vice-Presidents, agents and missionaries home on furlough, and by none with more effective eloquence and

[1] The following were among the special objects and requirements to which the fund was to be devoted:—The addition of about 100 workers each to the staff of colporteurs and the staff of Biblewomen; the preparation of new versions in foreign tongues and the completion of versions begun; the issue of new Scriptures for the blind; the publication of cheap Memorial editions of the Revised Version, of a Welsh Bible reproducing the references and readings of the English Revision, and of a new resultant Greek Testament; the production of a History of Versions and of Histories of the Society; structural alterations at the Bible House and purchase of printing plant; increase of the Society's Benevolent Fund; provision for needy Sunday schools at home and in the Colonies.

inexhaustible freshness than the President himself. Ladies of the London Helpers' Association dealt from day to day and week to week with the growing mass of clerical work. The vast majority of the Auxiliaries heartily fell into the lines of concerted action. Standing committees were formed to diffuse information, quicken interest, and carry out local arrangements. All over the country the ardour of the Centenary was kindled in innumerable meetings and conferences.

A splendid consolidating impulse was given by a second session of the Grand Committee, which was welcomed to Birmingham on the 31st October 1902 by the Lord Mayor of the rich Midland city. The Marquis of Northampton presided, and the joyous strength and fervour of that large gathering of typical Bible Society men, Life Governors, veterans from abroad, and delegates from thirty-one counties, left no room for doubt as to the issue of the movement.

Manchester was chosen for the third and last session in October 1903. On the 15th the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress held a reception in the Town Hall of the principal day school and Sunday school teachers of the city and district. On the 16th the Lord Mayor opened the morning sitting of the Grand Committee; members of the Manchester Auxiliary and their president, Mr Henry Lee, in his eighty-seventh year, entertained the delegates to luncheon; and in the evening the Marquis of Northampton presided at the annual meeting of the Auxiliary in the Town Hall, which was largely attended despite the stormy weather.

Long before this last session of the Grand Committee, however, several important developments had taken place under the happiest auspices.

On Friday, 6th March 1903, the Centenary Year was inaugurated in London at two remarkable meetings. One was held at the Mansion House, where the Lord Mayor, Sir Marcus Samuels, wished "every success to the cause of an

institution which does incalculable good in the world";[1] the Marquis of Northampton made special appeal to the generosity of the City of London; and the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, paid a tribute of reverence to the Bible as, in these days of research and scholarship more than ever it could have been in the past, "a living record of the revelation of God to mankind":[2] the other at the Queen's Hall, where a choir of six hundred voices rose in the Society's first great song of thanksgiving, and the Marquis of Northampton presided over a crowded assemblage, which listened in rapt attention to the testimony of eye-witnesses of the Society's work in distant lands. Among those speakers were Sir Andrew Wingate, ex-member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council in India; the Rev. J. Webster of the United Free Presbyterian Church Mission in Manchuria; the Rev. E. J. Peck of the Church Missionary Society, whose seal-skin church we remember on the icy edge of the Arctic Circle; the white-haired Wesleyan patriarch, Frederic Langham, who had laboured over forty years in Fiji; and when the Rev. F. W. Macdonald had brought to a close his glowing forecast of the future of the Bible, the great gathering lifted up a kindled heart in the "Hallelujah Chorus."

Early in April the Rev. F. W. Macdonald, ex-president of the Wesleyan Conference, and the Rev. H. A. Raynes, Home-secretary, sailed as a Centenary deputation to the Antipodes, landed in Auckland 11th May, and spent the rest of the year in a tour through New Zealand, the Australian Colonies, Tasmania and Ceylon; everywhere received with the warmest hospitality, holding meetings

[1] "The Bible Society," wrote the *Jewish Chronicle* in its comments on the proceedings, "is an institution in which Jews, only less than Christians, must feel a deep interest. . . . But for the Society's enterprise, English Jews would be without a Hebrew and English Bible in a single volume and in a handy form."

[2] A Chinese translation of the Prime Minister's speech appeared in the *Chinese Christian Review*, which circulates widely among the converts and native teachers at Shanghai.

and services, addressing radiant legions of children, foregathering with survivors of early colonial days and sons of old Wesleyan and Church missionaries, strengthening relations with the Auxiliaries, and kindling fresh zeal in the cause of the Society.

From February onward missionary societies and religious communions and organisations of all kinds seemed to vie with each other in congratulations and good wishes which breathed the very spirit of Christian brotherhood. The committee of the Church Missionary Society remembered with pleasure that it was a secretary of theirs, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, who drafted the constitution of the Bible Society, and that many of their missionaries had been translators and revisers of its versions. The committee of the Religious Tract Society recalled with gratitude that the very conception of the Bible Society originated at one of their meetings, and that their first honorary secretary, the Rev. Joseph Hughes, extended its purview from England and Wales to the whole world. From all sides came express and earnest acknowledgment of what the China Inland Mission described as "the unspeakable degree to which all missionary societies are indebted for indispensable help," and from no individual missionary society in more fervid terms than those of the United Brethren, "the oldest of all, the first to carry the Gospel to the heathen, the first to preach it to the Jew, the first to care for the leper," and, utilising the newly discovered art of printing, to "give the people around them the Bible in their mother-tongue." Though unable yet to discontinue independent action, the Bible Translation Society

"could and did recognise gratefully the noble work accomplished by the Bible Society during the past hundred years, . . . and especially rejoiced in the arrangements by which the Bible Society and their own Society were able in certain matters to act together, and to render service the one to the other."

At almost all the "May meetings" friendly reference to

the Centenary was made in speech or resolution; from his place in the chair the Archbishop of Canterbury dwelt on it with special warmth and heartiness at the anniversaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society; on the Society's own platform the verbal greetings of the Scottish Bible Society were conveyed by three high representatives.

Nor were these manifestations confined to our own country.

It was in itself no common cause of gladness that the approaching festival struck a chord in Christian life which wakened "sympathetic vibrations" in the five continents. Congratulatory addresses, too numerous to be recorded here in detail, most of them beautifully illuminated and superbly bound or framed, were received from remote mission-fields in both hemispheres; from Churches in the Colonies; from the Dutch Churches in South Africa; from the Continental Churches — French, Belgian, German, Waldensian, Hungarian; from the venerable Canstein Bible Institute; from the Bible Society of Basel[1] founded in 1804; from the Prussian, Scandinavian, Russian Bible Societies (to name but these), and from the great Sister Society of America.

Touchingly significant were a score of curious silken banners and embroidered scrolls, which afterwards brightened the large halls at the Centenary and anniversary meetings. One came from the entire body of Christians at Canton. One, from Hongkong, brought "joyous congratulations" from all the Christians belonging to the Basel Mission, the Church Missionary Society, the Rhenish Mission, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the American Board of Missions, the Young Men's Christian Association. A third, from Shanghai, declared "the Lord's glory manifested in China"; and yet another, "a Message respectfully approaching the Great English

[1] The high-toned address of the Basel Bible Society was accompanied by a cheque for £320, representing contributions from nine cantonal Bible Societies of Switzerland;

Holy Book Universal Society," expressed the feeling of the Presbyterian native Church at Moukden: "The Bible Society has created joy over the East."

Quaint personal letters called up the Eskimo congregations at Nain and Okkak on the coast of Labrador, the worshippers in the high valleys of the snow-covered Himalayas. In the name of the little Moravian Church at Poo, which sent a contribution "through their lama," Paulu the Evangelist wrote; and thanks for the Tibetan Scriptures were conveyed from "us unintelligent ones" at Leh—"Old Zacharia, Shamuel (the writer of the letter), Jonathan, and all the others old and young."

Meanwhile thousands of devoted workers kept in full swing both the usual district work and the extraordinary Centenary work, with its addresses, lantern lectures, sermons, attendance at official meetings and diocesan conferences, house-to-house canvassing, conversaziones, garden and drawing-room gatherings, sales of work (children's sales among them not least successful), tea-parties, shows of missionary curiosities and Bible House treasures. The literature connected with the celebration included a dozen notable monographs on the Bible in history and in the historic fields of China and India, Russia and Uganda, Madagascar and the New Hebrides.[1]

Towards the end of August Archdeacon Madden of Liverpool and the Rev. G. H. Bondfield, the agent for China, left England as a Centenary deputation to the Auxiliaries and Churches of British North America. Sir Algernon Coote, a Vice-President and in old days one of the District-secretaries, joined them in October. Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, and many other towns and cities were visited. Official conferences, crowded meetings,

[1] A translation of Dr Paton's monograph, *The Bible in the New Hebrides*, and an inspiring sketch of the Society's work, *La Bible dans le Monde*, by Pastor Lortsch, were published in France; and interest was similarly stirred in Germany, Italy, Portugal and North India by the agents of the Society.

Centenary Service at St. Paul's.

gatherings of ladies at which Lady Coote and Mrs Bondfield proved delightful and effective speakers, not only fanned into enthusiasm the interest of the people and the zeal of the Auxiliaries and Associations, but prepared the way for the developments described in the preceding chapter. At the end of October all returned to England except Mr Bondfield. Crossing the Continent, he addressed meetings at Winnipeg, Portage la Prairie, Brandon, Calgary and Victoria, the capital of Vancouver, whence he embarked for his post at Shanghai.

The Centenary editions of the Bible and New Testament of the English Revised Version were in circulation in May; those of the Welsh Scriptures appeared later;[1] the first volume of the *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, a compendium of scholarship and research on which the Rev. T. H. Darlow, M.A., Literary Superintendent, and Mr Horace F. Moule, M.A., had been engaged since 1899, and volumes i. and ii. (1804-54) of the present History left the press in December. It was not until the following May, however, that the Centenary resultant Greek Testament was ready.[2]

The proposals that all communions of the Reformed Faith throughout the world should unite in praise and prayer on one and the same solemn day of commemoration moved the religious imagination with an appeal of irresistible grandeur and beauty. The English Primates, speaking on

[1] Nearly 10,000 Sunday schools in England and Wales were presented with a new Desk Bible as a Centenary Memorial from the Society.

[2] At their first meeting in October 1901 the Centenary Grand Committee adopted the suggestion that the time had come for the Society to provide students and translators with the best available Greek text of the New Testament. Since the publication of the Textus Receptus (a term which originated with the second Elzevir edition, 1633), the Codex Alexandrinus and other venerable codices had enabled successive scholars to amass evidence as to the most probable wording of the inspired original, and Professor Nestle, D.D., of Maulbronn was intrusted with the preparation of a text which should follow the reading common to at least two of the great recensions of Tischendorff (1898), Westcott and Hort (1895), and Weiss (1894-1900), while an *apparatus criticus* should mark any variation from the Received Text and from the Greek text underlying, avowedly or inferentially, the English Revised Version of 1881.

behalf of nearly all the Bishops, "rejoiced in the opportunity of joining the thousands of Christian people of other Churches in thankfulness to Almighty God for blessings common to us all." The proposal was acclaimed by all the Nonconformist Conferences and Assemblies, adopted without exception by all the Missionary Societies, and drew from Scotland and Ireland, from the Bible States and Bible Churches of the Continent, from the British Colonies, from the mission-fields of Africa, Asia and the Pacific, from Canada, the United States, and the Protestant congregations of Central and South America, the same enthusiastic response.

On the 4th March 1904 the Centenary celebrations began with a simple noonday meeting for prayer at the Bible House. In the evening hundreds of delegates and friends, representing kindred societies at home and abroad, were welcomed by the President, the Marquis of Northampton, Mr Caleb Kemp, Chairman of the Committee, and Mr Robert Barclay, Treasurer, in the stately hall of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers, London Bridge—only a stone-throw from the memorable room at Swan Stairs in which the formation of the Society was conceived.

On Saturday afternoon, 5th March, the Royal Albert Hall was thronged with the joyous life and colour of multitudes of children. Even the Guildhall was not spacious enough for this hundredth birthday. The Lord Mayor (Sir James Thomson Ritchie) and the Sheriffs of London attended in picturesque state, with the mediæval Sword-bearer, Serjeant-at-Arms and City Marshal. Princess Christian graciously undertook the ceremony of cutting the great birthday cake (a wonder of confectionery surmounted with a model of the Bible House and ringed round with its text "The Word of the Lord endureth for ever"); and as her Royal Highness took her place, she was presented with a bouquet by a sunny-haired

six-year-old in white, Dorothy Ritson, the little daughter of one of the Secretaries, and niece of Mr Williamson Lamplough, Deputy-chairman of the Committee. Mr Horace F. Moule's stirring Centenary hymn,

> "We thank Thee for a hundred years
> Of mercy, Lord, and blessing,"

rose heavenward from a mighty choir of fifteen hundred voices; admirable addresses were delivered; and a touching episode occurred, which was spoken of long afterwards. A little fellow, like one of themselves, a ten-year-old scholar of the Royal Normal College for the Blind, came forward and read with his finger-tips how there were brought to Jesus little children "that He might lay His hands upon them"; and how when the priests—very angry at the children crying "Hosanna to the son of David" as He healed the blind and lame in the Temple—asked Him, "Hearest thou what these say?" Jesus answered, "Yea; have ye never read, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?"

Then in the furthest east sprang the new day, and all along the 180th meridian, from Wrangel Land to Bounty Island, it was Bible Sunday. And as the earth swung its continents across the sun, with the sound of Sabbath bells, many a strange detail might have been noted in the wonderful pageant of worship which began to encircle the world. Bible Sunday was observed in Fiji, where, only fifty years before, the terrible drum Rogovogo Valu "cried" the islanders to a cannibal feast; in Korea, under the lowering clouds of war; far inland, by a happy chance, on the Yangtze River;[1] on mail steamers in the Straits of Malacca and the Persian Gulf; at Blantyre in the Shiré Highlands; at Lovedale in Kaffirland; on board the *Armadale Castle*

[1] At the foot of the perilous Chintan rapids, Mr A. J. Crosfield, a member of the Committee, visiting the Friends' Chinese mission stations, found two mission boats, and a little party of ten joined in the great observance.

and the *Orion*, speeding along the South African route; at Kumassi, the blood-drenched sorcerous city of the Kumtree; at Buenos Ayres, and, beyond the Andes, at Lima and Valparaiso.

In London, though the weather was bleak with sleet and rain, St Paul's was crowded long before noon with worshippers from all parts of the metropolis and the outskirts. The King's recent illness prevented his attendance, but his Majesty was represented by his gracious consort Queen Alexandra, the Prince and Princess of Wales and Princess Victoria.[1] As the pealing of the bells ceased, they were received at the west portal by the Lord Mayor and high officials of the City of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the aged Dean Gregory and the dignitaries of the Cathedral, all in the ermine, scarlet and gold of state, and ushered to their places under the dome, while the great church throbbed with the hymn,

"Thou whose almighty Word."

A simple and impressive form of service, in which all could join, closed with Wesley's noble anthem,

"Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The Archbishop, who preached from the text "Let there be light" (Genesis i. 3-4), contrasted the Shrove Sunday of 1527, when potentates of the English Church and Realm watched from that very spot the burning of the English New Testament at the foot of the famous Rood of Northen, with this Bible Sunday and this gathering of princes, clergy and people to thank God for the distribution of His Word to every nation under heaven. True science and true religion he described as sisters; and "nothing but disaster could arise from the petulant scorn of the one or from the timidity

[1] As these lines were written, His Majesty the King died after a brief illness at Buckingham Palace, at 11.45 P.M., 6th May 1910, to the dismay and sorrow of his people and the deep regret of all civilised countries.

or the tyrannies of the other." Referring to the Society's age-long struggle with poverty, distance and language, "we look upwards," he said, "and outwards and onwards: we thank God and take courage."

This royal celebration had its counterpart in Calcutta, at which Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, was present; at Melbourne, which was attended by Lord Northcote, the Governor-General of Australia; at Washington, where at St John's in the historic centre of the capital the vast congregation included President Roosevelt, members of the Diplomatic Corps, representatives of the Supreme Court, the Cabinet, and Senate of the United States. The Cathedral of Stockholm and the Cathedral of Namirembe in Uganda, the Cathedral of Bloemfontein and the Cathedral of Shanghai, the Cathedral of Singapore and the Cathedral of Antananarivo responded to the Cathedrals of England and Wales in the universal antiphon of thanksgiving. Nearly every school and station in nearly every Wesleyan circuit observed this day. All denominations bore their part. And as at home, so abroad, wherever in the Old World or the New the Bible dominated the faith of mankind, people of every race, colour and language united in thanks to Almighty God for the blessing of His Word. Never in the Christian centuries had so many millions come so near to realising the dream and the hope of "one fold and one Shepherd."[1]

In the throng of these events we pause for a moment at the German St Marien-Kirche, Cleveland Street, Fitzroy

[1] Though, unhappily, there is no complete record of the observance of this unique festival, or of the hundreds of Sunday schools in which the day was honoured, the following numerical return of churches and chapels taking part will be read with interest:—Northumberland 654, Cumberland 387, Durham 713, Westmorland 166; the Derby, Notts and Lincoln District 1432 (in many of which the Bible Society had not been mentioned and little sympathy had been shown for years); the Eastern District of Huntingdon, Cambridge and the three coast counties, about 1600; Bristol 200; while each of the five Bishops of the West (Truro, Exeter, Bristol, Bath and Wells, and Salisbury) preached Bible sermons. In numberless places civic dignitaries and corporations added to the impressiveness of the commemoration, and several of the chief Missionary Societies, setting aside their own sermons and appeals, offered their services on behalf of the Bible Society. At home, too, and abroad, the Press lent its powerful aid.

Square. From 1694 to the seventies the congregation of St Mary's worshipped in the Savoy, and on this Bible Sunday was unveiled a white marble tablet to the memory of Dr Steinkopff, from 1801 to 1859 "ein treu Hirte dieser Gemeinde," one of the founders of the Bible Society, for twenty-two years its first Foreign Secretary.

On Monday, 7th March, another quiet meeting for prayer was held at the Bible House in the forenoon.

About four hundred members of many Christian communions, including the numerous delegates from all parts of the world, were entertained to luncheon by the Marquis of Northampton in the King's Hall of the Holborn Restaurant; and during the proceedings affectionate greetings were conveyed from the National Bible Society of Scotland, the Hibernian Bible Society, the Melbourne Auxiliary and the Federation of Victoria, and profound thanks and good wishes from the Protestant Bible Society of Paris, the Bible Society of Saxony, the Evangelical National Society of Sweden, and the Protestant Churches of Hungary, while the relations of the Bible House to the Mission-field were free-heartedly acknowledged on behalf of the Zenana Missionary Societies, the Universities Mission to Central Africa, and the Missions to Seamen.

Far away in Wales that afternoon the school-girls of Bala decorated the statue of Mr Charles, and laid flowers on his grave in Llan-y-Cil churchyard.

By seven o'clock in the evening between eight and nine thousand people had filled the vast space of the Royal Albert Hall for "The Centenary Meeting," and once more the building was flooded with the music of the great voluntary choir. At half-past seven the Marquis of Northampton took the chair with the Archbishop of Canterbury on his right and the Rev. Dr John Watson ("Ian Maclaren") on his left.

The meeting opened with Isaac Watts's hymn,

"The heavens declare Thy glory, Lord."

The Rev. R. Lovett of the Religious Tract Society read the parable of the Sower, and the prayers of the assembly were led by the Bishop of St Albans.

In a glowing appeal the President urged the claims on the Society's work of the overwhelming multitude of our fellow-subjects in India; of 450 millions of the world's population who were still without the Word of God.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, dwelling on the twofold name of the Society, spoke of the deep under-current of Scripture which flowed beneath English speech and English life; of those hundreds of versions with which it was shaping and ennobling the language, ideals and literature of the future among less advanced races. The Books of the East, the classics of Greece and Rome eluded the skill of scholarship, but the Word of God vindicated its divine character; in translation as in the original, it was the same living power over the minds of men.

After the immense assembly had sung the *Te Deum*, Sir George Smith of Truro, and Sir Lewis Dibdin, the Dean of the Arches, pleaded for the maintenance of the Bible in the home as the essential condition of our character and place as a Christian nation.

Reviewing in a brilliant speech the assaults made on the Scriptures during the century, Dr Watson bade his audience be high of heart if the next attack came from the ethical side. The history of a spiritual evolution, the Bible was to be judged not by its beginnings but by its endings, not by the rude annals of a race gradually ascending, or by the sins and imperfections of good men, but by the process completed, by the ideal attained in the teaching and person of our Lord Jesus Christ. As all roads were said to lead to Rome, from every part of the Bible the import and tendency were to Him. A fine passage on the motherhood of the Bible,

"keeping her many children under the same roof, in the same care," till they made up their differences before evening came, brought a soul-stirred and memorable meeting to a close.

On Tuesday afternoon Lord Northampton presided over a large gathering in the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, when secretaries and delegates from the leading Missionary Societies bore grateful testimony to the indispensable service of the Bible Society.

Once more his Lordship took the chair in the evening at a public reception of the delegates from abroad. Mr Choate, the United States ambassador, read a message cabled from President Roosevelt, which was received with an outburst of applause:

"Convey to the British and Foreign Bible Society my hearty congratulations on their Centenary, and my earnest wish for the continued success of their good work."

As a delegate from the American Bible Society, he presented an address and an illuminated volume of autographs, and proceeded to trace with vivid eloquence the influence of the Bible in America from the landing of the *Mayflower* and the great Puritan emigration from Old England to New England. Then rising in his peroration to the high issues in the hands of the United States and Great Britain, "I believe," he said—and cheers upon cheers welcomed his words—"the only sure guarantee of peace is the moral influence of public opinion. I believe if these two nations which you and I represent were to set the example, the other Christian nations would follow. Nothing could withstand such a weight of public opinion based upon this Book. I believe in co-operation in good work—in every good work possible—between the people of our two countries. Why should we not co-operate in all good work, when we have one God, one Bible, one language, and one destiny?"

On behalf of the Protestant Churches of France, Pastor de Visme presented a fine Centenary medal designed by one of the foremost French Christian artists, M. Prudhomme.

Pastor F. Beskow, Court Chaplain to King Oscar II., announced that the King of Sweden and Norway had commanded him to express to the British and Foreign Bible Society

"his warmest thanks for the blessings vouchsafed through their work in Sweden and Norway during the century that is past. His Majesty regrets that, owing to a journey abroad, he is unable to celebrate, as it had been his desire, these memorable days together with his people."[1]

Dr Hoyles, K.C., of Toronto, handed to the President a cheque for £2000 as a birthday gift from the Upper Canada Bible Society, presented the congratulations of the Montreal Auxiliary, and expressed the hope that the Canadian Centenary contribution would be an additional £10,000.

Count John Bernstorff of the German Embassy presented an address from the Prussian Bible Society, and added:—

"By command of his Majesty the Emperor, Bible Sunday was celebrated in all the Protestant Churches of my country, and by order of his Majesty our ambassador informs your Lordship of the fact."

A grateful address from the Evangelical Bible Society of Russia was presented by Baron Othon de Buxhoevden; and Pastor Logstrup read a telegram from King Christian of Denmark:—

"God speed the Society. His blessing for the work."

On Wednesday morning, 9th March, Mr Caleb R. Kemp presided at a conference at Sion College before the delegates took farewell.

During the day a glad procession went out from Abergwynolwyn to Ty'nyddol, the ruined cottage of Mary Jones, in its green cwm on the side of Cader Idris.

[1] Asked for some word of testimony in connection with the Centenary, the Queen of Sweden (whom we saw driving in her carriole to Trondhjem for her coronation thirty years before) sent in autograph 2 Timothy iii. 15-17.

In the evening Mr D. Lloyd George, M.P., took the chair at an enthusiastic Welsh meeting in Exeter Hall, the last of the wonderful series of Centenary gatherings in London.

Little can be said here of the numberless celebrations elsewhere; of the splendid mass meetings at Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester and other industrial centres; the gala days—as at Aberavon, Hatherleigh, Bury St Edmunds, where the bells were rung and the streets broke into a flourish of flags and evergreens; the birthday cake meetings; the demonstrations of school children ("the promise of the future") —little companies in country villages; 1000 at Derby, 2000 at Hull, 2000 at Nottingham, 3000 at Portsmouth; between 5000 and 6000 at Carnarvon, where they walked in procession, and every child received a medal struck as a souvenir of the event. Beyond the seas 5000 children assembled at Toronto (more than twice the number of the whole population when we first knew it as "York" eighty years back). On the opposite side of the planet the Society's work was dramatically presented to a crowded audience at Melbourne by groups of girls in picturesque costumes, who personated "the Bible House" (England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales), "the Continent," "India," "China and Japan," and "the Isles of the Pacific."

Meanwhile gifts flowed in to the Centenary Fund. At the inaugural meetings in March 1903 the list, which was headed by his Majesty the King and the Prince of Wales, showed in promises and payments a nucleus of £35,000; of which £10,000 was contributed by the Committee. £55,000 was subscribed by September—£26,000 in sums of £1000 and upwards. At the close of March 1904 the amount was £156,000. It increased to £191,000 in September, and at Easter 1905 the total, received and promised, reached £235,000.

The names of the Emperor of Germany and the Queen of Roumania were added to the list. Donations of special significance were received from the Viceroy of India, who "did not think that anything but good could result from the diffusion of such a work as the Holy Scriptures of the Christian faith, filled as they are with lessons for all religions and all mankind"; from Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of Customs and Posts in China, who esteemed it "an honour and a privilege to have even the smallest share in the magnificent work of the Society."

The Worshipful City Companies liberally responded to the Marquis of Northampton's civic appeal at the Mansion House. From high and low, from rich and poor, from near and far came some gracious aid or recognition: "drops of silver" from the Church of the Divine Saviour in the City of Mexico; a little bag of rupees (which sold for ten guineas) as "a greeting of gratitude and love" from Daudi Kasagama, King of Toro; a collection from members of the Somaliland Field Force ("off at any moment on the track of the Mullah"); gifts from Patagonia and Fusan (Korea); from Tiflis, Basutoland, the Sangir Islands; from Helsingfors and the Ashanti Gold Mines; offerings from lepers at Almora, at Chamba, in Chota Nagpur, in Trinidad; proceeds of sales of work from Cairo, Alexandria, and the orphan children of Nazareth.

Many a gift was tenderly associated with the unforgotten. Some of them recalled old chapters of the Society's history. In a series of memorial donations from Mrs Hollingworth of Bedford, one was linked with the name of the Rev. Thomas Jones of Creaton, the fellow-worker and friend of Charles of Bala. Mr C. Lea Wilson of Beckenham gave £1000 in memory of his grandfather, Alderman Richard Lea, whose name is engraved on the tablet of founders in the hall of the Bible House. By a donation of £3050 from

"A Vice-President" recollection was carried, still further back, to Mr Samuel Mills, who drafted the Constitution of the Society and who served for three-and-forty years on its Committee. In the "Vice-President" of 1904 we may now recognise his grandson, Mr J. Trueman Mills. A contribution was sent by Miss Enderby, who was born at 10 Earl Street, before it became the Society's first home, the "Old Bible House." Who was the youngest contributor? There were doubtless rival claimants; but the oldest was probably Mr R. A. Gorell, J.P., the centenarian president of the Coltishall Branch of the Norfolk and Norwich Auxiliary.[1]

Yet once again, on the evening of 7th November 1905, swelled forth the uplifting strains of the Centenary Choir, and the immensity of the Royal Albert Hall was filled with an assemblage which seemed innumerable as it faded away into a mist of faces and a bluish mingling of colours. It was the close of the Centenary celebrations, the crowning act of thanksgiving to Almighty God.

A passage of Scripture was read by the Earl of Stamford. Prayer was offered by three other Vice-Presidents of the Society. The Marquis of Northampton announced the realisation of the Centenary Fund of a quarter of a million guineas. Stirring addresses were delivered by the Bishops of Manchester and Carlisle, General Booth (a Vice-President), Count A. von Bernstorff of Berlin, and the Rev. Principal Forsyth. The enthusiasm excited by the messages of congratulation received from King Edward VII., the German Emperor, the King of Denmark, the King of Sweden, the Queen of Holland and her consort, and President Roosevelt, represented by the United States ambassador, the Hon.

[1] On his hundredth birthday, 23rd August 1904, the Committee sent him their congratulations and a Bible inscribed and signed by the Marquis of Northampton and the Chairman, Mr Kemp. He passed away on the 24th October.

Whitelaw Reid, found its true and ultimate expression in the hymn, "Crown Him with many crowns," and in the many-centuried lyric cry of faith and supplication, *Te Deum laudamus*.

When the Centenary Fund was at length closed on 31st March 1907, it amounted with dividends and interest (£18,641) to the splendid total of £281,141, made up as follows :—

England	£202,261	15	1	Scotland	£453	18	9
Wales	16,687	12	5	Ireland	1646	14	2
	£221,050	0	5				
British Colonies—							
Africa	£4872	2	0	New Zealand	£3575	12	8
Australia	3704	2	1	West Indies	573	1	6
British North America	£12,274	0	1				
	£24,998	18	4				
Agencies abroad	£15,430	6	11	Sundries	£1020	14	4
	£16,451	1	3[1]				

Here, for a time, ends the story of the greatest Christian enterprise the world has known since Apostolic times. It began amidst "the clouds and tempests" of national danger, when Britain kept its night-watches under arms, and the camp-fires of an army of invasion burned from the Zuyder Zee to the mouth of the Seine. It began in days when masses of our own people were illiterate, when for thousands the Word of God was a costly book, when religious differences were embittered by civil disabilities. We have followed its course as, decade after decade, in despite of distance, poverty, and the obstruction of unknown tongues, it caught up the spiritual destinies of race after race and nation after nation. We have followed it as it appealed to

[1] It had been hoped that the whole cost of the Centenary organisation and celebration would be covered by the difference between sovereigns and guineas in the sum it was proposed to raise. As a matter of fact, when the fund was closed, the accrued interest had covered the outlay, leaving the Centenary Fund of 250,000 guineas absolutely intact.

the common faith of believers, and made for unity among all sections of the Church of Christ.

The story ends, the work goes on—spreading the divine message over land and sea, appealing to every child of Adam, making itself a part of human thought and character, uplifting the ideals, widening the liberty, ennobling the civilisation of kingdoms and empires. Of the work there can be no end until the knowledge of God covers the earth as the wings of the Cherubim covered the Mercy Seat.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

REGISTER OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY

List of Presidents, 1804-1904.

1804-34 Lord Teignmouth.
1834-51 Lord Bexley.
1851-85 Lord Ashley (The Earl of Shaftesbury).
1885-1900 The Earl of Harrowby.
1900 —— The Marquis of Northampton.

In the following list an asterisk indicates service with an interval of at least one year's absence. A dash after a name signifies that the member was still serving at the Centenary. A full stop marks a single year of service. The dates are those of the years in which a name appears in the Reports for the first and for the last time.

Members of the Committee, 1854-1904.

Forty-two members elected in the first half-century served on the Committee in the earlier years of the second half. Their names appear in Italics. From 1854 to 1904, 207 new members were elected. Of these but 43 sat for one year only; 52 served for five years or more, 32 for ten or more, and 18 from sixteen to thirty years.

Thomas Farmer (served 35 years; V.-P. in 1859) 1820-57*
John Radley (served 38 years) 1824-63*
Josiah Forster (served 42 years; V.-P. in 1869) . 1826-70*
Richard Barrett . . 1830-54*
George Stacey . . . 1830-54*
George Poland . . 1831-60*
Joseph Claypon . . 1832-55
John Bockett (Treasurer in 1862; V.-P. in 1870) . 1834-61*
J. Morley, Jr. . . . 1838-64*
R. C. Bowden . . 1840-62*
Samuel Fox 1840-65*
Henry Robarts (served 43 years continuously; Life Governor 1880; V.-P. in 1884) . . . 1841-83
T. M. Coombs . . 1842-63
P. Brames Hall . . 1842-70*
James Farish . . . 1843-72*
George Gay . . . 1843-61*
C. A. Preller . . . 1844-73*
Henry Roberts . . 1844-65*
Gen. MacInnes . . 1845-58
William Tottie . . 1845-57*
James Foster . . . 1846-59

L. Grüner	1847-55*
Henry Gregory (served 26 years)	1848-73
B. Claypon	1848-54*
Joseph Hoare (Treasurer in 1870; V.-P. in 1876)	1848-69*
J. Beldam	1849-56
H. S. Montagu	1849-56*
J. H. Ravenshaw	1849-57
H. H. White, Q.C.	1849-72
Capt. C. A. Barlow, R.N.	1850-55
John Finch	1850-81*
H. D. C. Satow	1850-67*
R. Westenholz	1850-55*
T. F. Buxton	1851-55*
Adolphus Bach	1852-57
Thomas Binns	1852-68
R. Charles, Jr.	1852-65*
Wilbraham Taylor	1852-59*
C. Ware	1852-54
Samuel Gurney, Jr.	1853-73*
Eusebius Smith	1853-62
Charles Tottie, Jr.	1853-60*
Herbert Dalton	1854-59
Alexis James Doxat	1854-58*
J. Hampden Fordham (served 32 years consecutively; V.-P. in 1882)	1854-85
Carl Haag	1854-58*
W. H. Warton	1854-80*
Thomas Norton	1855-67
Richard R. Roberts	1855-74
J. M. Ware	1855-57
William Coles (served 25 years consecutively; V.-P. in 1881)	1856-80
J. Edlmann	1856.
Lieut.-Col. Macdonald	1856-71*
W. J. Maxwell	1856-64*
Henry Reed	1856-61*
W. H. Ropes	1856-68*
Alfred Benecke	1857.
Dr Henry Ranke	1857.
Joseph East	1858-59
Thomas Gurney	1858-62*
John F. Thomas	1858-74*
J. S. Budgett	1859-73*
Peter Carstairs	1859-61*
W. C. Gellibrand	1859-75
Rudolph Linder	1859-63
Archibald Mirrielees	1859-76*
Rudolph Rauch	1859-61
James Carter	1860.
Major-Gen. Clarke, C.B.	1860-70*
Samuel Dixon	1860.
F. Ehrenzeller	1860-86*
Capt. E. Littlehales, R.N.	1860-80
George Thomson	1860-62*
W. H. Elliott	1861.
Maurice Schulhof, M.D.	1861-83
Huddleston Stokes	1861.
Prof. Leone Levi, LL.D.	1862-87*
George Marten	1862-65
George Moore (V.-P. in 1874)	1862-73*
John Snell	1862-77
A. J. Vieweg	1862-86*
Thomas Bagnall	1863.
Arthur Lang	1863-82*
Major-Gen. A. J. Lawrence, C.B.	1863-67*
J. E. Vanner	1863-67*
A. Westenholz	1863.
W. McArthur, M.P. (V.-P. and K.C.M.G. in 1882)	1864-69
Rear-Admiral Warden, C.B.	1864-66
J. Kemp-Welch	1864-82*
H. Wright	1864.
W. Schoolcroft Burton (Chairman of Committee 1886-92)	1865-86
Mark W. Collet	1865.
S. W. Silver (served 25 years; V.-P. in 1890)	1865-89
G. F. White (V.-P. in 1890)	1865-88*
Lieut.-Gen. Sir R. Birch, K.C.B.	1866.
George Glover	1866-67
Rivers Grenfell	1866.
J. J. Lidgett	1866.
C. Reed, LL.D. (Bart. in 1874; V.-P. in 1880)	1866-79*

W. Blomfield . . . 1867-91*
William Köhler . . 1867-70*
Joseph Somes . . 1867-69
J. Gurney Barclay (V.-P. in 1881; Treasurer in 1886) 1868-84*
E. Bassold . . . 1868-69
Paul Broë . . . 1868-83*
Sir Francis Lycett . . 1868-80*
George F. Romilly . . 1868.
J. Bevan Braithwaite (V.-P. in 1884) . . 1869-84*
Lieut.-Gen. Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I. . . 1869-70
James Curling . . 1869.
Alexander McArthur (M.P. in 1874; V.-P. in 1892) 1869-91*
P. Milleret . . . 1869.
T. W. Pocock . . . 1869-87
J. Trueman . . . 1869-70
Joseph Moore . . . 1870-89
Baron P. d'Ormieux von Streng 1870-77
Macleod Wylie . . 1870.
H. F. Bowker . . 1871-78
T. P. Bunting . . . 1871-85*
T. A. Denny . . . 1871-77*
R. Freeman . . . 1871-76*
G. M. Kiell . . . 1871.
Donald Matheson . . 1871-72
F. Ashby . . . 1872.
J. Holt Skinner . . 1873-75
Col. G. G. Channer . 1874-95*
W. Bonamy Maingay . 1874-91*
J. H. Puleston, M.P. . 1874.
Charles Westphal . . 1874-96*
Col. Charles Elliot, C.B. . . . . 1875.
Basil Woodd Smith (V.-P. in 1898) . . . 1875-97*
[1] John Christopher Augustus Voelcker, Ph.D., F.R.S. 1875-84
R. G. Clarke . . . 1876.
F. Cleeve, R.N., C.B. . 1876-89*
Major Richard Fawkes . 1876-77
Theodore Harris (V.P. in 1894) 1876-79*
John MacGregor, M.A. . 1876-88
Charles Pelly . . . 1876-81*
H. J. Atkinson (M.P. in 1886) 1877-86*
F. J. Wood, LL.D. (V.-P. in 1886) . . . 1877-85
Lord Frederick Fitzroy . 1878.
George Williams (V.-P. in 1892; knighted 1894) . 1878-91
Major-Gen. A. J. Bruce . 1879-1901*
Robert Needham Cust, LL.D. (V.-P. in 1891) . 1879-90
R. L. Eglinton . . 1879-88*
Henry Morris (V.-P. in 1899) 1879-98
Charles de Sélincourt . 1879-90*
A. C. P. Coote (District-secretary in 1874; Bart. in 1899; V.-P. in 1903) 1880-81
T. L. Devitt . . . 1880.
Caleb R. Kemp (V.-P. in 1899) 1880-98
W. W. Baynes (*d.* 18th June 1901) . . . 1881-1901*
William Morley . . 1881-82
David Everett, F.R.C.S. 1882-84
R. R. Glover . . . 1882-86
Hon. Henry Noel . . 1882-98
Martin Ware . . . 1882-95
W. Hellmar . . . 1883-86*
G. Spicer (V.-P. in 1903) 1883-1902
Gen. John Gray Touch . 1883-96*
J. F. Pownall . . . 1884-94
I. P. Werner . . . 1884 ——*
Theodore Duka, M.D. (V.-P. in 1904) . . 1885 ——*
W. Fowler, M.P. . . 1885.
Theodore Fry, M.P. (Bart. in 1894) . . . 1885.
A. Hubbard . . . 1885-94
Arthur Marshall . . 1885-87
Sir Nathaniel Barnaby, K.C.B. . . . 1886-88

[1] "In whom science and religion were combined by a subtler chemistry than his own."—Report 1885.

A. J. Crosfield	1886 ——*
W. H. Harris, B.A., B.Sc.	1886 ——*
A. H. Reed	1886-87
W. C. Braithwaite	1887-92
Sir G. Hayter Chubb	1887-91*
Fr. Schaeffer	1887 ——
Emil Walser	1887 ——
Robert Barclay (Treasurer in 1898; V.P. in 1899)	1888-97*
Carl H. Feldmann	1888.
W. M. Seaman	1888-92
Charles Tyler	1888-93
P. F. Wood (V.-P. in 1904)	1888 ——
Rudolph Büchly	1889.
C. E. Chapman	1889-93
Lieut.-Gen. Chitty	1889-95
J. H. Master	1889-93*
Edward Rawlings (V.-P. in 1893)	1889-90
Alderman Savory (Lord Mayor of London in 1890; Bart. in 1891; V.P. in 1892)	1889.
Major-Gen. Croften, R.E.	1890.
Major-Gen. George Hutchinson, C.B., C.S.I. (*see* Stock, vol. ii. p. 217)	1890-99
Joseph Pollard	1890 ——
F. Schweickhardt	1890-91
Thomas Chaplin, M.D.	1891-1901*
C. G. Master, C.S.I.	1891-1902*
A. W. Young	1891 ——
T. F. Victor Buxton	1892-98*
Col. G. R. Gibbs	1892.
Frank Holman	1892.
C. Schweickhardt	1892-94
Capt. H. Toynbee	1892-1902
Daniel Wellby	1892-1902*
Guthrie Caley, M.D.	1893.
George Gillett	1893.
E. N. Habershon	1893-99*
J. B. Ingle	1893.
G. H. Wedekind	1893 ——
Rendel Harris	1894.
Williamson Lamplough	1894 ——
John Molineux, C.B.	1894-95
Charles Price	1894-97
W. C. Allen	1895.
Adolph Bösch	1895-96
G. A. King	1895-1901
James McLaren	1895-1904
F. P. Weaver, M.D.	1895 ——*
H. J. Allcroft	1896.
A. R. Fordham	1896 ——*
W. Cecil Harris	1896-1900
F. Link	1896-98*
A. Brauen	1897 ——
E. W. Brooks	1897-99
H. Koenigs	1897 ——
P. Langer	1897-1900
G. F. Sutton (V.-P. in 1904)	1897 ——
J. E. Liddiard, F.R.G.S.	1898-99
H. W. Maynard	1898 ——
Major-Gen. C. G. Robinson	1898 ——
James Round, M.P.	1898-1900*
H. M. Birdwood, C.S.I., LL.D.	1899.
R. K. Puckle, C.I.E.	1899-1900
Hon. John Tudhope	1899-1900
A. Ridley Bax	1900-01
F. F. Belsey	1900 ——
T. Morgan Harvey	1900 ——
R. Morton Middleton	1900 ——
Col. D. V. Shortland	1900 ——
G. T. Crosfield	1901 ——
G. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E.	1901-02
Leslie S. Robertson	1901 ——
Reginald Ryley	1901.
E. J. Sewell	1901 ——
S. H. Gladstone	1902 ——
G. J. McCaul	1902 ——
P. W. Pocock	1902 ——
A. R. Rainy, M.B.	1902.
W. H. Seagram	1902 ——
J. Chown	1903 ——
Sir William Godsell	1903 ——
John Marnham	1903.
Maberly Phillips	1903 ——
Col. E. S. Skinner	1903 ——
Sir Andrew Wingate, K.C.I.E.	1903 ——

List of Secretaries, 1804-1904.

1804-22	Rev. John Owen, M.A.	1804-33	Rev. Joseph Hughes, M.A.
1823-50	„ And. Brandram, M.A.	1804-26	„ C. Steinkopft, M.A.
1851-52	„ G. J. Collinson, B.A.	1834-53	„ George Browne.
1853-57	„ Robert Frost, M.A.	1854-80	„ S. B. Bergne.
1858-61	„ John Mee, M.A.	1880-84	„ C. E. B. Reed, M.A.
1862-79	„ Chas. Jackson, B.A.	1885-96	„ W. Major Paull.
1881-1901	„ John Sharp, M.A.	1897-99	„ J. Gordon Watt, M.A.
1901 ——	„ Arthur Taylor, M.A.	1900 ——	„ John H. Ritson, M.A.

Editorial Department.

1831.	William Greenfield, M.R.A.S.	1867-76	Rev. R. B. Girdlestone, M.A.
1833-48	Rev. Joseph Jowett, M.A.	1877-99	„ William Wright, B.A.
1849-66	„ Thomas Meller, M.A.	1900.	„ J. Gordon Watt, M.A.

1901 —— Rev. John Sharp, M.A.

Literary Department.

1888-96	Rev. George Wilson, M.A.	1898 ——	Rev. T. H. Darlow, M.A.

Treasurers.

1804-14	Henry Thornton, M.P.	1870-85	Joseph Hoare.
1815-61	John Thornton.	1886-97	Joseph Gurney Barclay.
1862-69	John Bockett.	1898 ——	Robert Barclay.

Honorary Solicitors.[1]

1831-32	Messrs Brown, Marten and Brown.	1862-73	Messrs Thomas & Hollams.
1833-44	„ Brown, Marten and Thomas.	1874-88	„ Hollams, Son & Coward.
1845-61	„ Marten, Thomas and Hollams.	1889 ——	„ Hollams, Sons, Coward & Hawksley.

Home Department.

1888-97	Rev. T. Aston Binns (Hon.).	1901 ——	Rev. H. A. Raynes, M.A.
1898-1900	Rev. H. B. Macartney, M.A.		

Depositaries.

1811-15	L. B. Seeley.	1851-84	James Franklin.
1816-50	Richard Cockle.	1885-1903	J. J. Brown.[2]

[1] The same firm through nearly three-quarters of a century.
[2] Superintendent Publishing Department.

DISTRICT-SECRETARIES.[1]

1819-54

1819-62	C. S. Dudley.	1839-60	T. J. Bourne.
1828-43	William Brackenbury.	1845-48	Rev. H. A. Browne.
1829-36	Rev. W. Acworth, M.A.	1848-68	Rev. Philip Kent.
1833-37	Rev. Thos. Brooke, M.A.	1851-95	Geo. T. Edwards.
1835-50	T. Sanger.	1852-79	Rev. J. A. Page, M.A.
1836-70	Rev. T. Phillips.	1852-53	Major Fawkes.

1854-57 Rev. A. T. Edwards.

1854-1904.

1858-59	Major Scott Phillips.	1877-91	Rev. Isaac Raine, B.A.
1858-60	Rev. R. F. Wheeler.	1878 ——	Rev. James Thomas.
1859-74	Rev. J. P. Hewlett.	1879-91	Rev. Robt. Black, M.A.
1859-73	C. Swallow.	1879-82	Rev. J. J. Cohen, M.A.
1861-64	Rev. J. D. Miller.	1880-87	Rev. Geo. Davidson, B.A.
1861-68	Rev. W. P. Tiddy.	1881 ——	Rev. Jelinger E. Symons.
1862-65	Rev. W. H. Graham.	1882-93	Rev. R. G. Hunt, M.A.
1864-70	Rev. W. Spencer.	1883-92	Rev. David Brodie.
1865-66	Geo. Hall.	1885 ——	Rev. Edward S. Prout.
1866-68	Rev. J. H. Hill.	1887 ——	Rev. J. Cyndyllan Jones, D.D.
1866-70	Rev. Dr Gill.	1892 ——	Rev. W. H. Norman, M.A.
1868-76	Rev. G. T. Birch.	1892-1902	Rev. E. George.
1869-73	Rev. W. J. Edmonds.	1892-95	Rev. E. H. Pearce, M.A.
1869-78	Rev. Geo. Robbins.	1894 ——	Rev. W. Fisher, M.A.
1869-95	Rev. W. Dickens Lewis, M.A.	1896 ——	Rev. W. Monk Jones, M.A.
1871-84	Rev. W. Major Paull.	1896-98	Rev. H. M. Cox, B.A.
1872-73	Rev. C. de Boinville.	1896 ——	Rev. D. C. Edwards, M.A.
1873-1901	Rev. R. Perkins.	1898 ——	Rev. W. R. Bowman, B.A.
1874-79	Algernon C. P. Coote, M.A.	1898 ——	Rev. W. G. Jones, B.A.
1874-85	Rev. H. Griffiths.	1899 ——	Rev. H. C. Moor, M.A.
1875-78	Rev. D. Parker Morgan, M.A.	1902 ——	Rev. J. Alston, B.A.
1875.	Rev. E. P. Powell.	1903 ——	Rev. T. Smetham.
1876 ——	Rev. F. D. Thompson, M.A.	1904	Rev. J. W. Plant.

[1] Some record should be preserved here of secretaries of Local Agencies :—

Norfolk Auxiliary.

1838-75	S. Wiseman.	1876-80	J. R. Cossons.

Manchester Auxiliary.

1848-53	Jonathan W. Taylor.	1854-58	C. Swallow.

Derby—Notts—Lincoln District.

1849-60	Geo. Wingfield.	1860-62	Rev. W. Spencer.

ASSISTANT DISTRICT-SECRETARIES.

1886 —— Rev. H. Starmer.
1891-92 Rev. A. Dawson, B.A.
1891-97 Rev. W. Lee.
1891-94 Rev. C. F. Moss.
1890 [1] Rev. E. George.
1892 [1] Rev. H. M. Cox, B.A.
1892 [2] Rev. Harry Scott.
1894 [1] Rev. W. R. Bowman, M.A.
1894 [1] Rev. W. Monk Jones, M.A.
1896 [1] Rev. W. G. Jones, B.A.
1897 —— Robert F. Crosland.
1902 ——[1] Rev. J. Percy Treasure.
1903 —— Rev. T. A. Wolfendale, M.A.
1903 —— Rev. F. Stenton Eardley.
1903 —— Rev. Walter Wall.

AGENCIES ABROAD, 1854-1904.

France.

1833-70 Victor de Pressensé. | 1872-1901 Gustave Monod.
1902 —— Rev. D. Lortsch.

Germany.

1831-56 Rev. Dr R. Pinkerton. | 1881-94 James Watt.
1857-80 Rev. G. Palmer Davies. | 1895 —— Michael A. Morrison.
(1864-69 Rev. Dr Simon, depositary, Berlin.)

Austria-Hungary.

1851-86 Edward Millard. | 1887-1901 H. E. Millard.
(1901 Austria united with the German Agency.)

Belgium.[3]

1866-1901 W. H. Kirkpatrick.
(1902 Annexed to the French Agency.)

Holland.

1866-75 L. Van der Bom. | 1876-81 H. J. Reessé.
1882-92 H. Grelinger.
(1892 Withdrawal of the Society.)

Denmark.

1880-89 Rev. J. Plenge. | 1890-94 Lieut.-Col. I. Ravn.
(1895 Withdrawal of the Society.)

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[1] Afterwards District-secretary.
[2] Afterwards Assistant in Home Department.
[3] The work of the depôts at Brussels, Amsterdam and Cologne was conducted respectively by John Kirkpatrick (1854-64), L. Van der Bom (1854-65), and N. B. Millard (1854-55). These were years of transition.

Sweden.

1881-83 Rev. R. H. Weakley.
1884-85 H. Tottie (Hon. Correspondent).
(1885 Withdrawal of the Society.)

Italy.

1861-80 Thomas Humble Bruce. | 1881 —— Rev. Auguste Meille.

(In 1851-60 Bible-work in Switzerland and Northern Italy was in charge of Lieutenant Graydon.)

Spain		*Portugal*	
1869-70	Rev. J. G. Curie.	1865-69	Rev. F. H. Roughton.
1871-82	Richard Corfield.	1877-1901	Rev. Robert Stewart.
1883-87	Rev. C. Reeves Palmer.		
1888-94	Rev. John Jameson.		
1899 ——	Rev. R. O. Walker.		

(The Rev. Robert Stewart, Lisbon, was agent for both countries in 1895-98.)

Turkey and Greece.

1861-95 Rev. Alexander Thomson. | 1896 —— Rev. T. R. Hodgson.

(In 1846-60 the Rev. Isaac Lowndes had charge of Malta and Greece. On his retirement in 1861 Greece was added to the Turkish Agency. Malta and Northern Africa were assigned to the Italian Agency. Syria and Egypt, attached for a time to Italy, were transferred to Turkey in 1870.)

North Africa (Algiers).

1882-93 Rev. J. Löwitz. | 1894-1902 John May.

Morocco.

1884-99 W. Mackintosh. | 1901 —— W. Summers.

(In 1903 Algiers, Morocco, Tunis, etc., were grouped as the North African Agency under Mr Summers, with Mr May as assistant agent.)

Egypt (including Syria and Palestine).

1884-1901 Rev. R. H. Weakley. | 1902 —— Rev. A. A. Cooper.

Russia.

North.		*South.*	
1866-69	A. Eck.	1871-82	James Watt.
1870-97	Rev. W. Nicolson.	1880-94	Michael A. Morrison.
1897 ——	Rev. W. Kean.		

(In 1895 North and South Russia became one agency.)

Siberia.

1896 —— W. Davidson.

Persia.

1880-89 Rev. Robert Bruce.
1890. J. A. Douglas, B.A.
1891-95 Rev. T. R. Hodgson.
1899 —— C. E. Tisdall.

SECRETARIES IN INDIA.

Calcutta.

1865-66 Col. W. Lamb.
1896-1901 Crayden Edmunds, M.A.
1902 Rev. A. W. Young (*pro tem.*).
1903 Rev. G. W. Olver (*pro tem.*).
1904 C. Douglas Green (*pro tem.*).

Madras.

1875 —— Rev. S. W. Organe.

North-West Provinces.

1893 —— Rev. T. S. Wynkoop.

Bombay.

1895 —— C. Douglas Green.
1904 G. H. Hodgson (*pro tem.*).

Panjab.

1895-98 Rev. F. H. Baring, M.A.
1899. Rev. J. M. Adcock, M.A.
1900-01 Rev. Dr H. W. Weitbrecht (Hon.).
1902 —— W. H. L. Church.

Burma.

1890-93 Oscar de Glanville.
1899 —— Rev. W. Sherratt.

China.

1864-78 Alex. Wylie (Shanghai).
1879-95 Samuel Dyer, B.A. (Shanghai).
1884-91 Rev. Evan Bryant (Tientsin).
1886-94 A. Kenmure (Canton).
1896 —— Rev. G. H. Bondfield.

(The project of three Chinese agencies was superseded on the appointment of Mr Bondfield as agent for the whole of China.)

Japan.

1881-83 Rev. Isaac J. Taylor.
1886-87 Rev. P. K. Fyson.
1888-98 George Braithwaite.
1900 —— F. Parrott.

Korea.

1895 —— A. Kenmure.

Malaysia.

1882 —— John Haffenden.

Malaysia, North.

1900-1902 Rev. H. F. Miller. | 1903 —— Rev. Percy Graham.

(After the Spanish-American war the Philippines and adjacent islands were grouped as North Malaysia, an independent agency.)

Australia.

1862-70 Rev. J. K. Tucker. | 1871-77 Rev. B. Backhouse.
1877-82 Rev. J. T. Evans.

New South Wales and Queensland.	*W. and S. Australia and Tasmania.*
1883-96 Rev. H. T. Robjohns, M.A.	1884-87 Rev. E. Wilfred Robinson.
	1888-93 Rev. Geo. Davidson, M.A.

(On Mr Robjohns' retirement, March 1897, direct representation of the Committee ceased in these colonies.)

New Zealand.

1898 —— Rev. F. H. Spencer.

South Africa.

1896-1903 Rev. D. Nuttall.

Johannesburg.	*Cape Town.*
1903 —— Rev. G. Lowe.	1904 Rev. J. F. Botha.

West Coast of Africa.

1896-99 Rev. C. R. Johnson. | 1901 —— Broome P. Smith.

West Indies.

1867-68 Rev. W. T. Bowen. | 1888-89 J. Cecil Berger.
1890 —— Rev. G. O. Heath.

Central America.

1865-71 J. W. Butler.	1877-78 James Pascoe.
1873-75 Rev. W Parkes.	1899 —— Rev. F. de P. Castells.

South America.

1857-68 Richard Corfield.

Argentina.	*Brazil.*
1876-83 Rev. F. N. Lett.	[1865-71 Rev. R. Holden.]
1882-87 A. Henriksen.	[1872-79 Senhor José de Carvalho.]
1888-96 Signor Rocco Jetto.	1881-1901 Rev. J. M. G. Dos Santos.
1897. Rev. P. Lantaret.	1902 —— Rev. F. Uttley.
1899 —— Rev. B. A. Pons.	

West Coast.

1856-60 A. J. Duffield (*Bogotá*).
1902 —— A. R. Stark (*Callao*).

LIST OF VICE-PRESIDENTS, 1854-1904.

[*Italics indicate the appearance of old friends under new titles.*]

1855-81 The Bishop of Sydney (F. Barker).

1856-61 The Bishop of Carlisle (Hon. H. M. Villiers; in 1860 Bishop of Durham).

1857-82 The Bishop of London (A. C. Tait; in 1868 Archbishop of Canterbury).

1857-68 *The Bishop of Durham* (*C. T. Longley; in* 1860 *Archbishop of York*).

1857-83 The Bishop of Ripon (R. Bickersteth).

1857-79 The Bishop of Gloucester (C. Baring; in 1861 Bishop of Durham).

1857-87 The Bishop of Mauritius (V. W. Ryan.)

1857-71 The Bishop of Grahamstown (H. Cotterill).

1858-93 The Bishop of Norwich (Hon. J. T. Pelham).

1858-66 The Bishop of Calcutta (G. E. L. Cotton).

1858-59 The Bishop of Sierra Leone (J. Bowen).

1858-71 The Bishop of Huron (B. Cronyn).

1858-91 *The Duke of Devonshire* (*Earl of Burlington in* 1836).

1858-83 *The Duke of Marlborough* (*Marquis of Blandford in* 1849).

1858-67 Lord Calthorpe (Fourth Baron).

1859-63 Lord Haddo (in 1861 Fifth Earl of Aberdeen).

1859-85 Sir C. E. Trevelyan (in 1864 Baronet; Governor of Madras).

1859-61 John Thornton (Treasurer).

1859-61 Thomas Farmer.

1859-66 John Henderson.

1860-68 *The Archbishop of York* (*C. T. Longley; in* 1862 *Archbishop of Canterbury*).

1860-61 *The Bishop of Durham* (*Hon. H. M. Villiers*).

1860-95 The Bishop of Bangor (J. C. Campbell).

1861-90 The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (W. Thomson; in 1863 Archbishop of York).

1861-66 The Bishop of Rochester (J. C. Wigram).

1861-79 *The Bishop of Durham* (*C. Baring*).

1861-69 The Bishop of Carlisle (Hon. S. Waldegrave).

1861-69 The Bishop of Sierra Leone (E. H. Beckles).

1861-95 The Bishop of Antigua (W. W. Jackson).

1861-77 The Bishop of Waiapu (W. Williams).

1862-1901 The Bishop of Madras (F. Gell).

1863-68 *The Archbishop of Canterbury* (*C. T. Longley*).

1863-90 *The Archbishop of York* (*W. Thomson*).
1863-64 The Archbishop of Dublin (R. Whately).
1863-91 The Bishop of Goulburn, N.S.W. (M. Thomas).
1863-77 Sir Thomas D. Lloyd, Bart., of Bronwydd.

1864-80 Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, G.C.B.
1864-66 The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (C. J. Ellicott).
1864-94 Lord Charles Russell (Serjeant-at-Arms, House of Commons, 1848-75).
1864-84 The Dean of Gloucester (H. Law).

1865-68 The Bishop of Peterborough (F. Jeune).
1865-93 Lord Ebury (First Baron).

1867-94 The Bishop of Nelson, N.Z. (A. B. Suter).

1868-82 *The Archbishop of Canterbury* (*A. C. Tait*).
1868-70 The Earl of Cavan (Eighth Earl).
1868-69 The Earl Howe, G.C.H. (First Earl).
1868-70 The Very Rev. Lord Midleton, Dean of Exeter.
1868-91 The Bishop of Peterborough (W. C. Magee; in 1891 Archbishop of York).
1868-71 Joseph Pease.
1868-79 John Remington Mills, M.P.
1868-86 Joseph Tritton.

1869-78 The Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross (J. Gregg).
1869-79 Lord Lawrence, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
1869-97 The Bishop of Victoria [Hongkong] (C. R. Alford).
1869-70 Josiah Forster.
1870 —— *The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol* (*C. J. Ellicott*).
1870-99 The Bishop of Sierra Leone (H. Cheetham).
1870-71 John Bockett (ex-Treasurer).

1871-84 The Bishop of London (J. Jackson).
1871-86 The Bishop of Manchester (J. Fraser).
1871-95 The Bishop of Chichester (R. Durnford).
1871-88 The Bishop of St Asaph (J. Hughes).
1871-82 The Bishop of Grahamstown (N. J. Merriman).
1871-78 The Dean of Ripon (H. McNeile).
1871-83 The Rev. Robert Moffat, D.D.
1871-97 The Rev. John Stoughton, D.D.
1871-73 The Rev. W. Ellis.
1871-1900 The Rev. William Arthur, M.A.
1871-77 The Rev. Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D.

1872-86 The Rev. Lord Wriothesley Russell, M.A.
1872-78 The Rev. Lord Dynevor, M.A.
1872-95 The Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, G.C.S.I.

1873-97 The Rev. Dr Vaughan, Master of the Temple (in 1879 Dean of Llandaff).
1873-1902 The Bishop of Auckland (W. G. Cowie).
1873-74 The Rev. Thomas Binney, D.D., LL.D.

1874-96 The Earl of Darnley (Sixth Earl).
1874-90 The Bishop of Winchester (E. H. Browne).
1874 —— The Bishop of Barbados (J. Mitchinson).
1874-88 The Bishop of Trinidad (R. Rawle).
1874-78 The Rev. Samuel Martin.
1874-76 George Moore.

1875-94 The Bishop of Bath and Wells (Lord A. C. Hervey).
1875-96 The Bishop of St David's (W. B. Jones).
1875-82 The Dean of Carlisle (F. Close).
1875-77 Sir John Rice Crowe, K.C.B.
1875-1903 The Rev. Joseph Angus, D.D.
1875-90 The Rev. George Osborn, D.D.

1876 —— The Bishop of Melbourne (J. Moorhouse; in 1886 Bishop of Manchester).
1876-86 The Rev. D. Wilson, M.A., Prebendary of St Paul's.
1876-94 Sir Harry Verney, Bart.
1876-85 Joseph Hoare (Treasurer).

1877 —— Earl Fortescue (Third Earl).
1877 —— The Earl of Aberdeen (Seventh Earl).
1877 —— Sir J. H. Kennaway, Bart., C.B., M.P.

1878-1903 The Bishop of Exeter (F. Temple; in 1885 Bishop of London).
1878-95 The Bishop of Rochester (A. W. Thorold; in 1891 Bishop of Winchester).
1878-87 The Bishop of Sodor and Man (R. Hill).
1878-96 The Bishop of Truro (E. W. Benson; in 1883 Archbishop of Canterbury).
1878-94 The Bishop of Brisbane (M. B. Hale).
1878-80 The Rev. W. Morley Punshon, LL.D.

1879-89 The Bishop of Durham (J. B. Lightfoot).
1879 —— The Bishop of Lichfield (W. D. Maclagan; in 1891 Archbishop of York).
1879-94 The Dean of Ripon (W. R. Fremantle).
1879-1900 Sir Francis G. M. Boileau, Bart.
1879-91 The Rev. Donald Fraser, LL.D.
1879-80 The Rev. Alexander Raleigh, D.D.

1880-82 The Hon. A. Leslie Melville.
1880-97 The Right Rev. Walsham How, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Bedford (in 1888 first Bishop of Wakefield).
1880-81 The Bishop of Jerusalem (J. Barclay).
1880-82 The Bishop of Zanzibar and Central Africa (E. Steere).
1880-81 Sir Charles Reed, M.P.
1880-97 The Rev. Samuel Newth, D.D.

1881-99 The Bishop of Liverpool (J. C. Ryle).
1881 —— Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I.
1881-86 Samuel Morley, M.P.
1881-82 William Coles, Dorking.
1881-97 J. Gurney Barclay.

1882-85 Earl Cairns (First Earl).
1882-1904 The Dean of Peterborough (J. J. S. Perowne; in 1891 Bishop of Worcester).
1882-87 The Rev. Lewis Edwards, D.D.

1882-91 The Rev. Owen Thomas, D.D.
1882-91 The Rev. C. H. Spurgeon.
1882-85 John Hampden Fordham.
1882-87 Sir William McArthur, K.C.M.G., M.P.

1883-96 *The Archbishop of Canterbury* (*E. W. Benson*).
1883-85 The Earl of Harrowby (Third Earl), fourth President of the Society in 1886.

1884 —— The Bishop of Truro (G. H. Wilkinson; in 1893 Bishop of St Andrews).
1884 —— The Bishop of Sydney (A. Barry).
1884-94 The Dean of Canterbury (R. Payne Smith).
1884-1901 The Rev. B. F. Westcott, D.D. (in 1890 Bishop of Durham).
1884-97 The Rev. W. Fiddian Moulton, D.D.
1884-94 The Rev. Joshua C. Harrison.
1884 —— J. Bevan Braithwaite.
1884-86 Henry Robarts.

1885-1903 *The Bishop of London* (*F. Temple; in* 1896 *Archbishop of Canterbury*).
1885 —— The Bishop of Ripon (W. Boyd Carpenter).
1885-91 Alderman Sir R. N. Fowler, Bart., M.P. (in 1885 Lord Mayor of London).
1885 —— The Bishop of Exeter (E. H. Bickersteth).
1885-88 The Hon. James Ferrier (president of the Montreal Auxiliary).
1885 —— The Rev. Alex. McLaren, D.D.
1885-91 The Rev. Henry Allon, D.D.
1886-1900 The Rev. William Muirhead.
1886 —— The Bishop of Southwell (G. Ridding).
1886-94 The Rev. Canon E. Hoare, M.A.
1886-94 The Rev. Lord Forester, M.A. (in 1894 Canon of York).
1886-88 Lord Mount Temple.
1886 —— The Lord Justice Fry, F.R.S. (the Right Hon. Sir Edward).
1886-1903 The Bishop of Gibraltar (C. W. Sandford).
1886-98 Sir M. Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E., D.C.L.
1886-91 F. J. Wood, LL.D.
1886 —— The Rev. W. H. Dallinger, LL.D., F.R.S.
1886 —— The Rev. J. Oswald Dykes, D.D.
1886-93 J. D. Allcroft.
1886-96 The Rev. Carr J. Glyn, M.A.
1886 —— Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, K.C.M.G. (Governor of South Australia in 1895).

1887-90 The Earl of Carnarvon (Fourth Earl).
1887-90 Lord Cottesloe (First Baron).
1887 —— *The Bishop of Manchester* (*J. Moorhouse; in* 1877 *Bishop of Melbourne*).
1887-90 The Dean of Windsor (Randall Thomas Davidson; in 1891 Bishop of Rochester).
1887-1903 The Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D.
1887-94 The Rev. R. W. Dale, D.D.
1887-1904 The Rev. J. Thain Davidson, D.D.
1888-1902 The Earl of Chichester (Fourth Earl).

1888-91 Lord Edward Cavendish, M.P.
1888-1904 The Bishop of Sodor and Man (J. W. Bardsley; in 1892 Bishop of Carlisle).
1888-97 *The Bishop of Wakefield* (*Walsham How*).
1888 —— W. Schoolcroft Burton.
1888-95 Sir Thomas F. Wade, K.C.B.
1888-91 Sir Rivers Thompson, K.C.S.I.
1888 —— The Bishop of Mauritius (P. S. Royston).
1888 —— John Cory.
1888-96 The Rev. E. Herber Evans, D.D.
1888 —— The Rev. Thomas Davies, D.D.

1889 —— The Earl of Halsbury (Lord Chancellor).
1889 —— Lord Brassey, K.C.B.
1889-99 Sir J. W. Dawson, K.C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S.
1889-97 Harry Coghill, Newcastle-under-Lyme.

1890-1901 *The Bishop of Durham* (*B. F. Westcott*).
1890 —— The Bishop of St Asaph (A. G. Edwards).
1890 —— S. W. Silver.
1890-98 G. F. White.

1891. *The Archbishop of York* (*W. C. Magee*).
1891-98 The Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham (Eleventh Earl).
1891 —— Lord Kinnaird (Eleventh Baron).
1891-95 *The Bishop of Winchester* (*A. W. Thorold*).
1891 —— *The Bishop of Rochester* (*Randall Thomas Davidson; in* 1895 *Bishop of Winchester*).
1891-1904 *The Bishop of Worcester* (*J. J. S. Perowne*).
1891-1902 Sir G. G. Stokes, Bart., M.P.
1891-1902 The Dean of Westminster (G. G. Bradley).
1891 —— The Dean of Windsor (P. F. Eliot).
1891 —— Robert Needham Cust, LL.D.
1891 —— The Rev. Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D.D.
1891 —— *The Archbishop of York* (*W. D. McLagan*).
1892-1901 The Bishop of Peterborough (Mandell Creighton; in 1897 Bishop of London).

1892 —— The Bishop of Lichfield (Hon. A. Legge).
1892-1904 *The Bishop of Carlisle* (*J. W. Bardsley*).
1892 —— The Bishop of Montreal (W. B. Bond; in 1901 Archbishop).
1892 —— Alderman Sir Joseph Savory, Bart., M.P.
1892-1903 Hon. J. H. Angas (president of the South Australian Auxiliary).
1892-1900 W. Blomfield.
1892-99 The Rev. Principal Edwards, D.D.
1892-1903 The Rev. A. Mackennal, D.D.
1892 —— The Bishop of Sodor and Man (N. D. J. Straton).
1892 —— The Bishop of Sydney (W. S. Smith; president of the New South Wales Auxiliary; in 1901 Archbishop).
1892 —— Viscount Midleton (Eighth Baron).
1892 —— George Williams (knighted in 1894; president of the Y.M.C.A. and Band of Hope Union).

1892 —— A. McArthur.
1892-97 H. M. Matheson.

1893 —— *The Bishop of St Andrews* (*G. H. Wilkinson*).
1893 —— The Rev. Canon Edmonds, B.D.
1893-1901 The Hon. G. W. Allan.
1893 —— Edward Rawlings.
1893 —— J. Storrs Fry.
1893 —— The Bishop of Calcutta (E. R. Johnson).
1893-1901 The Rev. Newman Hall, D.D.
1893 —— The Rev. J. G. Rogers, D.D.

1894 —— Robert Heath.
1894-1900 Theodore Harris.
1894-96 Sir Charles U. Aitchison, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
1894 —— The Bishop of Jamaica (E. Nuttall; in 1898 Archbishop of the West Indies.
1894 —— The Ven. Archdeacon Sinclair, D.D.
1894 —— The Bishop of Marlborough (A. Earle).
1894 —— Admiral Sir F. Leopold McLintock, K.C.B.
1894 —— The Rev. H. J. Pope, D.D.
1894 —— J. R. Hill.

1895 —— Viscount Peel.
1895 —— *The Bishop of Winchester* (*Randall Thomas Davidson; in* 1903 *Archbishop of Canterbury*).
1895 —— The Bishop of Bath and Wells (G. W. Kennion).
1895-96 The Rev. H. R. Reynolds, D.D.
1895 —— Victor C. W. Cavendish, M.P. (in 1907 Duke of Devonshire).
1895 —— Alexander Peckover, LL.D. (Lord-Lieut. of Cambridgeshire).
1895-1900 John Deacon.
1895 —— The Bishop of Chester (F. J. Jayne).
1895 —— The Bishop of Melbourne (F. F. Goe).
1895 —— The Dean of Durham (G. W. Kitchin).
1895-1903 The Ven. Archdeacon J. Richardson, D.D.
1895 —— The Rev. Canon Jacob, M.A. (in 1896 Bishop of Newcastle).
1895 —— The Rev. J. Monro Gibson, D.D.
1895 —— The Rev. E. E. Jenkins, M.A., LL.D.

1896-1903 *The Archbishop of Canterbury* (*F. Temple*).
1896 —— *The Bishop of Newcastle* (*E. Jacob; in* 1903 *Bishop of St Albans*).
1896 —— Viscount Hampden.
1896 —— The Earl of Stamford (Ninth Earl).
1896-1903 Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease, Bart., M.P.
1896 —— J. Trueman Mills.
1896 —— Albert Spicer, M.P.
1896 —— The Rev. J. G. Greenhough, M.A.
1896 —— The Rev. Richard Glover, D.D.
1896 —— The Bishop of Hereford (John Percival).
1896 —— Bishop Stuart, D.D. (late of Waiapu, N.Z.).
1896 —— The Dean of Norwich (W. Lefroy).

1897-1901 *The Bishop of London* (*Mandell Creighton*).
1897 —— The Bishop of Peterborough (Hon. Edward Carr-Glyn).

1897 —— The Hon. J. J. Rogerson (president of the St John's, Newfoundland, Auxiliary).
1897 —— A. S. Leslie Melville, Lincoln.
1897-99 The Bishop of Bangor (D. L. Lloyd).
1897 —— Lord Radstock (Third Baron).
1897 —— The Rev. H. C. G. Moule, D.D. (in 1901 Bishop of Durham).
1897 —— The Rev. J. Morlais Jones.
1897-1902 The Rev. Joseph Parker, D.D.

1898 —— The Rev. Canon Christopher, M.A.
1898-1900 B. Woodd Smith.
1898 —— The Bishop of Newcastle, N.S.W. (G. H. Stanton).
1898 —— The Rev. Canon Fleming, B.D.
1898-1900 H. A. Norman.
1898-99 The Rev. T. Aston-Binns (sometime Hon. Home-superintendent).
1898 —— The Rev. D. MacEwan, D.D.
1898 —— The Bishop of Wakefield (G. R. Eden).
1898 —— T. A. Denny.
1898 —— The Right Hon. Sir H. H. Fowler, G.C.S.I., M.P.
1898 —— The Rev. Canon A. R. Fausset.

1899 —— The Bishop of St David's (J. Owen).
1899 —— The Bishop of Shrewsbury (Sir L. T. Stamer, Bart.).
1899 —— The Bishop of Calcutta (J. E. C. Welldon).
1899 —— The Marquis of Northampton (on 2nd July 1900 appointed fifth President).
1899 —— Viscount Clifden (Sixth Baron).
1899 —— The Rev. Canon R. B. Girdlestone, M.A.
1899 —— The Rev. W. L. Watkinson.
1899 —— Robert Barclay.
1899 —— Caleb R. Kemp.
1899 —— Henry Morris.

1900 —— Bishop Ingham, D.D. (late of Sierra Leone).
1900 —— The Bishop of Liverpool (F. J. Chavasse).
1900-02 The Dean of St David's (D. Howell).
1900 —— The Master of Trinity (the Rev. H. Montagu Butler, D.D.).
1900 —— The Rev. F. W. Macdonald.
1900-01 Sir Richard Temple, G.C.S.I.
1900 —— F. A. Bevan.
1900 —— R. Davies, J.P., Anglesea.

1901 —— The Earl of Northbrook, G.C.S.I. (First Earl), ex-Viceroy of India.
1901 —— *The Bishop of Durham* (*H. C. G. Moule*).
1901 —— The Bishop of Ely (Lord Alwyne-Compton).
1901 —— The Bishop of Exeter (H. E. Ryle; in 1903 Bishop of Winchester).
1901 —— The Bishop of London (A. F. Winnington-Ingram).
1901 —— The Bishop of Lucknow (A. Clifford).
1901 —— Sir George Hayter Chubb, Bart.
1901 —— The Right Hon. Sir Samuel J. Way, Bart. (Chief Justice of South Australia).
1901 —— Lord Alverstone, G.C.M.G. (Lord Chief Justice).

1901 —— The Hon. G. E. Knox, Allahabad.
1901 —— The Rev. Griffith John, D.D.
1901 —— The Rev. John G. Paton, D.D.
1901 —— The Rev. J. Hudson Taylor.
1901 —— T. Fowell Buxton, Easneye.
1902 —— The Bishop of Calcutta (R. S. Coplestone).
1902 —— The Bishop of Uganda (A. R. Tucker).
1902 —— The Bishop of Hokkaido, Japan (P. K. Tyson).
1902 —— The Rev. W. G. Lawes, D.D., of New Guinea.
1902 —— The Rev. J. Thoburn McGaw.
1902 —— Sir Charles Alfred Elliott, K.C.S.I.
1902 —— C. E. Tritton, M.P.
1902 —— Thomas Hodgkin, D.C.L.
1902 —— Charles Finch Foster.

1903 —— *The Archbishop of Canterbury* (*Randall T. Davidson*).
1903 —— The Bishop of Huron (M. S. Baldwin).
1903 —— The Dean of Westminster (J. A. Robinson).
1903 —— Sir Algernon Coote, Bart.
1903 —— The Rev. C. H. Kelly.
1903 —— The Rev. John Watson, D.D., Liverpool ("Ian Maclaren").
1903 —— G. W. Macalpine.
1903 —— George Spicer.
1903 —— Martin John Sutton.
1903 —— *The Bishop of Winchester* (*H. E. Ryle*).
1903 —— *The Bishop of St Albans* (*E. Jacob*).

1904 The Bishop of Worcester (C. Gore).
1904 The Bishop of Manchester (E. A. Knox).
1904 The Bishop of Honduras (G. A. Ormsby).
1904 Bishop Stirling, D.D.
1904 The Rev. Andrew Murray, D.D.
1904 The Rev. Marshall Hartley.
1904 The Rev. F. B. Meyer.
1904 The Rev. S. G. Green, D.D.
1904 The Rev. D. Mackichan, D.D.
1904 Sir A. Hargreaves Brown, Bart., M.P.
1904 N. W. Hoyles, K.C., LL.D.
1904 Thomas Pumphrey, Newcastle.
1904 George Cadbury.
1904 P. F. Wood.
1904 G. F. Sutton.
1904 Theodor Duka, M.D.

Honorary Life Governors, 1854-1904.

1855-82 Macleod Wylie, Calcutta.

1856-76 Archibald Mirrielees (sometime representative at St Petersburg).
1856-58 Edward Suter, Canonbury (for thirty-seven years hon. sec. of the Merchant Seamen's Bible Society).

1858-72 The Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, M.A.

1859-68 The Rev. George Browne, Tunbridge Wells (ex-Secretary and Historian).

1860-64 The Rev. G. J. Collinson, St James's, Clapham (ex-Secretary).

1862-72 George Marten (of Marten, Thomas & Hollams), Upper Clapton (Hon. Solicitor to the Society).

1863-86 The Rev. Henry Barne, Faringdon, Berks.
1863-74 John Rice Crowe, C.B. (afterwards Sir John, K.C.B.), Consul-General for Norway, and representative of the Society at Christiania (V.-P. in 1875).
1863-88 The Rev. J. E. Dalton, Seagrave, Leicestershire.
1863-66 J. S. Howard, Toronto.
1863-74 The Rev. Charles Kemble, Bath.
1863-80 The Rev. George Morgan, Cape Town.
1863-76 Dr James Paterson, St John's, New Brunswick.
1863-67 Joseph Pease, Darlington (V.-P. in 1868).
1863. The Rev. Dr Raffles, Liverpool.
1863-69 The Rev. George Smith, D.D., Poplar.
1863-65 The Rev. Canon Hugh Stowell, Manchester.
1863-65 The Rev. William Swan, Edinburgh.
1863-90 The Rev. John Venn, Hereford.
1863-86 The Rev. Philip Westerby, St John's, Antigua (afterwards Bishop).
1863-97 The Rev. W. W. Woodhouse, Ipswich.

1864-98 The Rev. William Acworth, St Giles', Oxford (District-secretary in 1829).
1864-75 The Rev. J. Ketley, George Town, Demerara.
1864-97 The Hon. Henry Noel, Exton Park, Oakham.

1865-70 John Foulkes, Aberdovey.

1867-70 The Rev. T. W. Meller, M.A. (ex-Editorial Superintendent).
1867-71 The Rev. Robert Moffat, Kuruman, S. Africa (V.-P. in 1871).
1867-82 The Rev. Thomas Nolan, B.D., St Peter's, Regent Square.
1867-91 The Right Rev. Dr Pjetursson, Bishop of Iceland.
1868-70 The Rev. W. Ellis (of Madagascar), Hoddesdon (V.-P. in 1871).

1869-72 Thomas Binns, Rockleys, Bristol.

1870-72 P. Hanssen, Jr., Tromsö Norway.
1870-94 Christian Joachim Mohn, Bergen, Norway.
1870 —— Tobias Siqveland, Christiansand, Norway.
1870-81 S. E. Svendsen, Stavanger, Norway.
1870-1903 P. Ulstad, Trondhjem, Norway.

1873-88 Griffith Thomas, Staines.
1873-76 Henry Hopley White, Q.C.
1874 —— J. S. Budgett, Ealing Park Middlesex.

1875-99 The Rev. G. J. Adeney, Reigate.
1875-87 James Cadbury, Banbury.
1875-97 The Rev. A. M. W. Christopher, M.A., Oxford (V.-P. in 1898).
1875-96 Major Richard Fawkes, Wigthorpe, Worksop (District-secretary 1852-53).
1875-91 The Rev. J. H. Moran, B.A., St Thomas's, Chancery Lane.
1875-93 Algernon Peckover, Wisbech.
1875-82 The Rev. Dr Schauffler Brünn.

1875-76 J. F. Thomas, Blackheath.

1876-78 The Very Rev. W. R. Fremantle, Dean of Ripon (V.P. in 1879).

1876-83 W. C. Gellibrand, Romford.

1876-84 Samuel Wiseman, Norwich (local agent for Norfolk).

1877-83 J. Bevan Braithwaite, London (V.-P. in 1884).

1877-98 The Rev. R. B. Girdlestone, M.A., Clapham (ex-Editorial Superintendent; V.-P in 1899.)

1877-91 The Rev. Joseph Steer, Tottenham.

1878-83 William Hitchin, Sidcup, Kent (ex-Accountant and Assistant Secretary).

1878-85 The Rev. G. C. Hodgson, Corbridge-on-Tyne.

1878-91 T. H. Hodgson, Carlisle.

1878-84 Henry Richardson, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

1879-91 The Rev. Prebendary Blenkin, Boston, Lincolnshire.

1879-81 John Finch, Tunbridge Wells.

1879-98 R. M. Middleton, Northallerton.

1879-86 Alexander Wylie, Hampstead (ex-agent for China).

1880. William Coles, Dorking (V.-P. in 1881).

1880-81 John Hampden Fordham, Kensington (V.-P. in 1882).

1880-93 Theodore Harris, Leighton Buzzard (V.-P. in 1894).

1880-84 The Rev. Charles Jackson, Bentley, Hants (ex-Secretary).

1880 —— Captain H. M. Jones, V.C. (Consul at Christiania; hon. Agent of the Society).

1880-83 Henry Robarts, Stamford Hill (V.-P. in 1884).

1881 —— The Rev. John Burbidge (hon. sec. of the Liverpool Auxiliary; afterwards Canon).

1881-92 The Rev. Walter J. Edmonds, Rector of High Bray, Devon (Canon of Exeter Cathedral, 1891; V.-P. in 1893).

1881-84 Charles Longuet Higgins, Turvey Abbey, Bedfordshire.

1881-88 Captain Littlehales, R.N., Sherborne, Dorset.

1881-94 W. Moon, LL.D., Brighton (inventor of the Moon system for the blind).

1881-95 W. H. Warton, Brighton.

1882-89 The Rev. Professor F. Delitzsch, Leipzig.

1882-86 H. J. Riessé, Zeist (ex-agent for Holland).

1882-83 Maurice Schulhof, M.D., London.

1882-98 E. Cartwright Williams, Jersey.

1883. The Rev. Canon Becher, Melbourne (*d.* 4th January in the same year).

1883-91 I. W. Caley, Norwich.

1883-98 The Rev. Pastor Chiniquy.

1883-89 F. Ehrenzeller, Canonbury Park, N.

1883-85 The Rev. Richard Rigg, M.A., Norwich (for forty-two years secretary of the Norfolk and Norwich Auxiliary).

1883-1902 Joseph Stratton, Manningford Bruce, Wiltshire.

1884-88 Harry Coghill, Newcastle-under-Lyme (V.-P. in 1889).

1884-90 R. N. Cust, LL.D., St George's Square, S.W. (V.-P. in 1891).

1884-88 W. Goodday, Colchester.

1884-90 The Rev. Charles Hebert, D.D., Silloth.

1884-91 R. Inns, J.P., Barnsley.

1884-93 The Rev. W. Johnston, D.D., Belfast.

1884-85 Major Westphal, Berlin.

1884-1903 T. White, Bromsgrove.

1884-85 F. J. Wood, LL.D., Clapham Common (V.-P. in 1896).

1885-97 The Rev. T. Aston-Binns, Reigate (Hon. Home-secretary in 1888; V.-P. in 1898).

1885-97 The Rev. Charles Hole, LL.D., Cape Town.

1885-93 The Rev. R. Watts, M.A., Nailstone.

1886-95 G. Thomson, Brompton.

1886-98 The Rev. G. Sargeant, Barbados, West Indies.

1886-91 The Rev. James Calvert, Croydon.

1886-1902 James Franklin, Croydon (Depositary 1851-84).

1886-1901 Henry Tottie, Stockholm (Hon. Correspondent).

1886 —— C. H. Hooper, Eastington Lodge, near Stonehouse, Gloucestershire.

1887-91 The Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, LLD., Newcastle-on-Tyne.

1887-95 Henry Burlingham, Evesham.

1887-97 The Rev. John Buttanshaw, M.A., Bath.

1887 —— James Clark, Street, Somerset.

1887-94 E. A. Wallingford, St Ives, Hants.

1888. T. W. Pocock, Virginia Water.

1888-94 J. P. Daniel, South Petherton, Somerset.

1889-90 The Rev. Patrick Fenn, B.A., Wrabness, Manningtree.

1889. J. Spence, Tynemouth.

1889-92 The Rev. F. J. Falding, M.A., D.D., Bradford.

1889-92 John MacGregor, M.A., Blackheath ("Rob Roy").

1889 —— John Murdoch, LL.D., Madras.

1890-91 A. McArthur, M.P., Holland Park, W. (V.-P. in 1892).

1890 —— The Rev. Allen T. Edwards, Twickenham.

1890 —— F. Cleeve, Tunbridge Wells (K.C.B. 1902).

1890 —— Theodore Fry, M.P. (Bart. in 1894).

1891-1900 T. Fowell Buxton (V.-P. in 1901).

1891-99 The Rev. J. Chalmers, D.D., Canton.

1891-92 J. Storrs Fry, Bristol (V.-P. in 1893).

1891-94 The Ven. Archdeacon Richardson, Southwark.

1891-1902 Robert Ingram Stevens, Hoddesdon.

1892-1900 The Rev. Prebendary Stephenson, Lympsham.

1892-1901 Charles Finch Foster, Cambridge (V.-P. in 1902).

1892-95 The Rev. Prebendary Wightman, Shrewsbury.

1892 —— C. J. Plumptre, Fredville, Dover.
1892-1900 The Rev. Prebendary Tate, Kippington.
1892-93 The Rev. W. S. Swanson, D.D. (Amoy), Kilburn.
1892 —— H. J. Tomlinson, Barton-on-Humber.
1892 —— E. Chambers, Chelsea.

1893 —— J. Fenn Clark, Leamington.
1893-97 The Rev. F. Fitch, Vicar of Cromer.
1893 —— E. Neston Habershon, Edenbridge.
1893 —— W. Lashmar, Tunbridge Wells.
1893-1900 John B. Brandram, Ware.
1893-95 The Rev. W. G. Cornish, LL.D., Montreal.
1893 —— The Rev. H. H. Lawry, Auckland, N.Z.
1893-94 The Rev. E. E. Reinke, Manchester, Jamaica.
1893. The Ven. Archdeacon Maunsell, Auckland, N.Z.

1894-99 The Rev. F. W. Macdonald, Brixton, S.W. (V.-P. in 1900).
1894-99 Colonel Travers, R.A., Woolwich.
1894 —— Fred Monk, Bolton.
1894-97 The Rev. A. H. Rumboll, M.A., Colchester.
1894. J. Clark, Folkestone (died the day before he was appointed).

1895-97 The Ven. Archdeacon Scott, M.A., Lichfield.
1895 —— R. H. Briscoe, Wolverhampton.
1895 —— Henry Jones, R.N., Portsmouth (Fleet Engineer).
1895 —— Captain Chapman, Windermere.
1895 —— The Rev. S. Chorlton, M.A., Pitsmoor.
1895-1901 H. Johnson, Croydon.
1895 —— The Rev. E. Hewlett, M.A., Manchester.
1895-1902 W. Slade, Hastings.
1895-1901 The Rev. H. Stevens, M.A., Sydenham.
1895-1901 Alex. M. White, Colchester.
1895 —— The Rev. G. Brown, Pau.
1895 —— The Rev. A. F. Buscarlet, Lausanne.
1895 —— The Rev. R. B. De Wolf, M.A., Birkenhead.
1895 —— J. J. Neave, Sydney.
1895-99 The Rev. J. R. M'Dougall, Florence.
1895. Colonel G. G. Channer, Ealing.
1895 —— A. Hubbard, Acton.
1895-97 J. F. Pownall, Russell Square, W.C.
1896. W. H. Penrose, Dedham.
1896-97 The Rev. R. Henderson, Nice.
1896 —— The Rev. D. Miller, Genoa.
1896-1901 G. T. Edwards, Redhill.
1896 —— J. K. D. Wingfield Digby, M.P., Sherborne Castle.
1896 —— Major Herbert Hart, J.P., Stamford.
1896-98 The Rev. W. Peterson, Biddenden.
1896-1902 The Rev. A. Turner, Ashford.
1896-97 S. Breeze, Southport.
1896 —— The Rev. Canon Ripley Norwich.
1896 —— The Rev. H. E. Fox, M.A., Norbiton.
1896 —— The Rev. E. W. Collinson, M.A., Walton.
1896 —— J. F. Milward, Redditch.
1896 —— E. Millard, Wiesbaden (sometime agent at Vienna).
1896-98 The Rev. Dr Thomson, (1861-95 agent in Turkey).

1896-99 The Rev. R. Clark, Amritsar.
1896 —— The Rev. R. Bruce, D.D., Durham (sometime agent in Persia).
1896 —— The Rev. W. E. Cousins, M.A., Oxford (chief reviser of the Malagasy Bible).

1897 —— The Rev. W. Major Paull, Bristol (District-secretary 1871-84; Secretary 1885-96).
1897 —— The Rev. Joseph Nettleton, Hackney.
1897 —— The Rev. William Law, Launceston, Tasmania (secretary of Northern Auxiliary).
1897 —— M. Gutteridge, Naples.
1897 —— The Hon. C. W. Hutton, Capetown.
1897 —— R. Gillespie, Melbourne (president of the Victoria Auxiliary).
1897 —— G. Curling, Croydon.
1897 —— Sir F. Howard, Bedford.
1897 —— The Rev. J. Grant Bird, Stalybridge.
1897 —— Dr F. Churchill, South Kensington.
1897 —— The Rev. Edward Williams, Cynwyd.

1898 —— I. P. Werner, Forest Hill, S.E.
1898-1901 Henry Conder.
1898-1903 The Rev. H. C. Hodges, M.A., Shanghai.
1898-1901 General John Gray Touch, St Stephen's Square, W.
1898 —— J. Liston Paul, M.D., Porchester Gate, W.
1898 —— The Rev. James Key, St Petersburg.
1898 —— The Rev. Dr W. Nicolson, (1869-97 agent in Russia).
1898-1900 George Phillips, Adelaide (secretary South Australian Auxiliary).
1898-1901 James Lance, Balham.
1898 —— The Rev. Canon Sutton, M.A., Aston.
1898 —— Henry Gibson, Ongar.
1898 —— The Rev. W. W. Butlin, Camborne.
1898 —— The Rev. T. M. Morris, Ipswich.
1898 —— The Rev. J. Macgowan, Amoy.

1899 —— The Rev. J. E. Edkins, D.D., Shanghai.
1899 —— The Rev. G. H. Rouse, D.D., Bengal.
1899 —— The Rev. J. Gordon Gray, D.D., Rome.
1899-1901 The Rev. W. G. Lawes, D.D., New Guinea (V.-P. in 1902).
1899-1902 The Rev. Canon Patteson, M.A., Norwich.
1899 —— The Rev. D. Bruce Payne, M.A., D.D., Deal.
1899-1900 The Rev. H. E. Perkins, M.A., Sydenham.
1899 —— The Rev. J. E. Somerville, B.D., Mentone.
1899 —— W. Barnett, Rosario.
1899. J. A. Eastwood, Manchester.
1899 —— W. H. Harris, B.A., B.Sc., Ealing.
1899 —— George Hay, Ottawa.
1899-1903 Thomas Pumphrey, Newcastle-on-Tyne (V.-P. in 1904).
1899 —— E. Stacey, Montreal.

1900 —— The Rev. J. S. Macpherson, Maitland, N.S.W.
1900-03 The Rev. F. B. Meyer, B.A., London (V.-P. in 1904).

1900. The Rev. W. Robinson, M.A., Manchester.
1900 —— The Rev. W. S. Rolland, Melbourne.
1900 —— Rev. William Bell, Penrith.
1900 —— H. M. Birdwood, C.S.I., LL.D., Twickenham.
19 0 —— Major-General A. J. Bruce, St John's Wood.
1900 —— R. C. Kermode, Ross, Tasmania.
1900 —— J. Francis Mather, Hobart, Tasmania.
1900-02 G. B. Lloyd, Birmingham.
1900 —— Samuel Lloyd, Birmingham.

1901 —— The Rev. T. Gasquoine, Upper Bangor.
1901 —— The Rev. J. G. Haworth, Manchester.
1901 —— The Rev. F. R. Hodgson, Exeter.
1901 —— The Rev. Douglas A. L. Hooper, Jilore.
1901-02 The Rev. F. Langham.
1901 —— The Rev. G. Whelpton, Paris.
1901 —— T. Cheney Garfit, Great Cumberland Place, W.
1901 —— R. A. Gorell, Norwich (*d.* 24th October 1904, aged 100 years and 2 months).
1901 —— P. Langer, Jersey.
1901 —— H. E. Thornton, Nottingham.

1902 —— The Rev. R. H. Weakley, Lucerne (agent in Egypt 1884-1901).
1902 —— The Rev. H. B. Macartney, London (Home-secretary).
1902 —— The Rev. R. Perkins, Stoke St Millburgh, Ludlow.
1902 —— The Rev. H. S. Acworth, Chobham.
1902 —— The Rev. S. McFarlane, LL.D., Southport.
1902. The Rev. S. M. Creagh, Lifu.
1902 —— Bishop La Trobe, Herrnhut.
1902 —— The Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd, Foochow.
1902 —— The Rev. Robert Stewart (agent at Lisbon 1877-1901).
1902 —— The Right Hon. F. J. Savile-Foljambe, Worksop.
1902-03 Gustave Monod (agent in Paris 1872-1901).
1902 —— G. A. King, Croydon.
1902 —— John Leeder Nobbs, St Petersburg.
1902 —— C. B. Hodgson, Carlisle.
1902 —— O. R. Dawson, Southampton.

1903 —— The Rev. John Evans, Cheltenham.
1903 —— Captain E. H. Hills, R.N., Littlehampton.
1903 —— D. Wellby (Member of Committee).
1903 —— G. A. Grierson, D.Litt., C.I.E.
1903 —— P. P. Fairbairn, Demerara.
1903 —— H. M. Upcher, Sherringham Hall, Norfolk.
1903 —— James Redwood, Bristol.

1904 Archdeacon Madden, Liverpool.
1904 Dr Mackay, Archdeacon of Saskatchewan.
1904 The Rev. J. A. Howell, Liverpool.
1904 The Rev. Benjamin Bell, Manchester.
1904 The Rev. J. B. Gason, Melbourne.
1904 The Rev. J. W. Gillett, Sydney, N.S.W.
1904 The Rev. Joseph McKim, Swinhope, Lincolnshire

1904 The Rev. N. Curnock.
1904 The Rev. H. M. Wells, Knebworth.
1904 The Rev. C. Y. Potts, Ledbury.
1904 The Rev. H. M. Cox, Leeds.
1904 The Rev. C. White, Tunbridge Wells.
1904 The Rev. John Piper, Holloway.
1904 The Rev. W. H. Nixon, Winster, Derby.
1904 Sir W. J. Soulsby, C.B., C.I.E.
1904 Colonel R. S. Barnes, Harwich.
1904 Colonel J. G. Williams, Lincoln.
1904 Captain Robinson, R.M.S. *Armadale Castle.*
1904 The Hon. George Randell, Perth, Western Australia.
1904 W. J. Slowan (Secretary of the National Bible Society of Scotland).
1904 E. B. Dawson, Lancaster.
1904 J. Cecil Clay, Market Drayton.
1904 F. Harrisson, Cheadle, Staffs.
1904 A. G. Rowlett, Croydon.
1904 W. J. Crossley, Manchester.
1904 A. J. Morton Ball, Stroud, Gloucester.
1904 J. E. Liddiard, Bournemouth.
1904 E. B. Dawson, Lancaster.

Lady Honorary Life Governors.

1811 Lady Grey, Portsmouth.
1892 The Countess of Harrowby.
Miss Allcard, Maida Hill.
Mrs J. Gurney Barclay, Leyton.
Miss Barker, Southport.
Mrs J. Bowman, St Leonard's.
Mrs Burdon, Hongkong.
Miss Cahill, Richmond.
Miss E. K. Clifton, Bunbury, W. Australia.
Mrs Collier, Finchley.
Mrs Donaldson-Hudson, Cheswardine.
Mrs Fordham, Kensington.
Miss Johnstone, Sandbach.
Mrs Martindale, Brighton.
Miss Jane Peckover, Wisbech.
Mrs Priestman, Sutton, Hull.
Mrs C. E. B. Reed, Upper Holloway.
Mrs Schulhof, Kensington.
Mrs Snell, Bournemouth.
Mrs Steel, Cambridge.
Mrs Taylor, Thornbury, Glos.
Mrs Taylor, Tunbridge Wells.
Mrs Tritton, Upper Norwood.
Miss Walker, Chester.
Mrs Whittard, Streatham Hill.
1893 The Lady Alicia Blackwood.
Mrs F. Brown, Douglas, Isle of Man.
Mrs Cheesman, Buckingham.
Mrs R. Davies, Bangor, N. Wales.
Mrs R. Garnett, Penketh, Warrington.
Miss Gorell, Coltishall, Norfolk.
Mrs Lloyd, Torquay.
Miss Sarah Blackburn Metcalfe, Leamington.
Mrs Robinson, Northampton.
Miss Sharman, Streatham.
Miss Snewin, Barnsbury.
Mrs Thorpe, Surbiton.
Mrs Wightman, Shrewsbury.
1894 The Dowager Lady Buxton, Cromer.
Miss Jane Cox, Derby.
Mrs Holborn, Kensington.
Miss Le Couteur, Jersey.
Miss Oakes, Riddings Hall, Derbyshire.
Miss Sims, Torquay.
Mrs Tate, Kippington.
Mrs Wright, Upper Norwood.
Mrs Young, Charlotte Town, Prince Edward Island.

1895 Victoria, the Lady Carbery.
Mrs Gibson, Cambridge.
Mrs Walter Hills, Margate.
Mrs Gerald Hunnybun, Godmanchester.
Mrs Lewis, Cambridge.
Mrs Mills, Wavertree, Liverpool.
Mrs R. Innes Nisbett, Gravesend.
Mrs Pilkington, West Hackney.
Mrs T. Millais, Jersey.

1896 The Countess of Portsmouth.
The Hon. Mrs Leslie-Melville, Branston Hall, Lincolnshire.
Miss Bingley, Tunbridge Wells.
Miss Penelope Bishop, Cannes.
Mrs Dymond, Exeter.
Mrs W. Dickens Lewis, Shrewsbury.
Miss Berthe Mohn, Bergen.
Mrs Nash, Bolton.
Mrs Norman, Derby.
Miss Pashley, Worksop.
Miss Kate Pollard, Hitchin.
Miss Shaw, Brant Broughton.
Mrs Sloley, Greenwich.
Mrs Spicer, S. Mary Cray.

1897 Lady Gertrude Foljambe, Worksop.
Mrs Morris, Doncaster.
Mrs Fremlin, Maidstone.
Miss Margaret Dunning, Whitby.
Mrs C. F. Foster, Cambridge.
Mrs R. Watson, Knutsford.
Mrs R. S. Stacey, Hounslow.
Mrs Potts, Hoole Hall, Chester.

1898 Lady Beauchamp, Havre.
Lady Brooke Pechell, Alton.
Miss Edwards, Harrogate.
Miss King, Herne Bay.
Mrs Blandford, Westgate-on-Sea.
Mrs J. R. MacInnes, Hampstead.
Miss Elizabeth Stone, High Barnet.
Miss Banbury, Picton, West Australia.

1899 Mrs Isabella Bishop, F.R.G.S.
Mrs W. P. Bodkin, Highgate.
Lady Victoria Buxton, Waltham Abbey.
Miss Kemp, Brighton.
Miss Catherine Marsh, Feltwell Rectory.

1900 Miss Birkbeck, Norwich.
Mrs Faulconer, Clapham.
Mrs C. Gillett, Oxford.
Miss Oates, Dewsbury.

1901 The Marchioness of Northampton, Castle Ashby.
The Lady Angela Campbell, High Ashurst, Dorking.
The Hon. Louisa Canning, Tunbridge Wells.
Miss L. T. Hedley, Chelsea.
Mrs Mark Mellers, Nottingham.
Miss Algerina Peckover, Wisbech.
Mrs Selfe-Leonard, Guildford.
Mrs J. Gordon Watt, Stirling, N.B.
Mrs Western, Shortlands, Kent.
Mrs Wozencroft, Camberwell.

1902 The Lady Sendall.
Miss Bromley, Malvern.
Miss Patteson, Norwich.
Miss E. M. Andrews, London.
Mrs Wiseman, London.
Miss Angus, London.

1903 Miss Colman, Norwich.
Miss Cozens-Hardy, Norwich.
Miss Rose Dixson, Stoke Newington.
Miss Horsnaill, Hornsey Rise.
Mrs Creagh, Sydney.

1904 Miss M. Arber, Bayswater.
Miss Buxton, Cromer.
Mrs Clucas, Ramsey.
Mrs Earle, Hampstead.
Mrs Farrant, Ramsey.
Miss Hine, Maida Vale.
Mrs Köhler, Balham.
Mrs Mackie, New Mills, Derbyshire.

1904 Miss Emily Mence, Wimbledon.
Mrs F. C. Smith, Nottingham.
Miss Treble, St John's Wood.
1904 Miss Vickers, Highbury.
Miss White, Hereford.

Honorary Foreign Members.

1893 The Right Rev. Bishop Szász, Budapest.
1894 The Rev. Y. I. Allen, Shanghai.
The Rev. Dr Ashmore, Amoy.
The Rev. Dr H. Blodget, Pekin.
The Rev. P. H. Brincker, Stellenbosch.
The Rev. Dr Graves, Canton.
H. Grelinger, Zeist (agent for Holland 1882-92).
The Rev. J. C. Hepburn, Yokohama.
The Rev. P. Sanz, Surakata, Java.
The Rev. Dr S. H. Kellogg, Allahabad.
The Rev. A. Mabille, Morija. South Africa.
The Rev. T. J. Marshall, Porto Novo.
The Rev. Dr C. W. Mateer, T'engchow.
Rev. A. W. Parker, Cape Coast Castle.
Dr Schreiber, Barmen.
J. G. Sillem, Amsterdam (President of the Netherlands Bible Society; *d.* 26th Sept. 1896).
The Rev. Dr C. V. R. Van Dyck, Beyrout.
1895 The Rev. Gustav Jensen, Christiania.
The Rev. L. Dahle, Stavanger.
The Rev. Jens Killengreen, Tromsö.
C. J. Dreyer, Tromsö.
The Rev. K. Eckhoff, Christiania.
The Rev. Bishop Scherestchewsky, Peking.
The Rev. Dr Scranton, Seoul.
1896 Carl Gröndahl, Christiania.
M. Cuendet, Algiers.
The Rev. Baba Padmonji, Bombay.
The Rev. F. Hahn, Ranchi, Bengal.
Count Andreas Von Bernstorff, Berlin.
The Rev. N. Dalhoff, Copenhagen.
The Rev. Dean Poulsen, Roskilde, Denmark.
The Rev. J. Vahl, Nörre Alslev, Denmark.
1897 Rocco Jetto, Naples.
J. M. Flad, Kornthal.
Dr F. W. Baedeker, Weston-super-Mare.
The Rev. J. R. Goddard, Ningpo.
The Rev. C. F. Reid, Shanghai.
The Rev. F. Kelling, Tagulandang.
1898 The Rev. Henry Wright Duta, Mango, Uganda.
The Rev. Dr Kropf, Stutterheim, South Africa.
The Rev. Héli Chatelain, Angola, South Africa.
The Rev. E. P. Newton, Ludhiana, Panjab.
The Rev. E. Jacottet, Neuchâtel.
H. L. Rottmann, Basel.
1899 Pastor Th. Monod, Paris.
The Rev. Elias Riggs, D.D., Constantinople.
1900 Bishop Cabrera, Madrid.
The Rev. W. Dilger, Travancore.
The Rev. Dr Nottrott, Bengal.
The Right Rev. Bishop Sveinsson, Iceland.

1900 Pastor Tornos, Madrid.
1901 The Rev. D. Anantam, B.A., Masulipatam, S. India.
The Rev. Haraldur Nielsson, Reykjavik, Iceland.
1902 The Rev. G. F. Herrick, D.D., Constantinople.
The Rev. A. Casalis, Basutoland.
The Rev. Theodore Isaac, Manchester.
1903 Dr Eberhard Nestle, Maulbronn.
The Rev. A. W. Heyde, Ghoom, Darjeeling.
1903 The Rev. J. Schopf, Basel.
The Rev. Dr A. W. Schreiber, Bremen.
J. Jacobleff, Simbirsk.
1904 The Very Rev. Professor Francis Balogh, Debreczen.
Stadspfarrer Jehle, Stuttgart.
C. Burckhardt-Zahn, Basel.
Pastor Bernard, Berne.
Pastor K. Narbel, Lausanne.
G. Trembly, Geneva.
Graf M. von Korff, Hanover.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF VERSIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

Printed or Purchased for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804-1904.

Versions.	Bibles and Old Testaments.	New Test. and N.T.+Psalms.	Portions.	Total.
UNITED KINGDOM—				
English	34,493,645	32,137,694	9,430,806	76,062,145
Gaelic	76,117	85,019		161,136
Irish	15,866	86,543	20,950	123,359
Manx	5,000	2,250		7,250
Welsh	1,237,218	2,180,794	385,233	3,803,245
	35,827,846	34,492,300	9,836,989	80,157,135
CONTINENTAL—				
Albanian (Gheg)		5,000	8,000	13,000
,, (Tosk with Mod. Greek)		6,000	29,000	35,000
,, (Tosk)			6,500	6,500
Basque (French and Spanish)		2,000	26,251	28,251
Bohemian	239,305	611,878	411,316	1,262,499
Breton		29,890	44,390	74,280
Bulgarian	27,463	117,875	142,151	287,489
Catalan		11,030		11,030
Chuvash			18,600	18,600
Danish and Norwegian	565,080	1,366,668	522,650	2,454,398
Dutch	1,162,874	1,145,604	317,427	2,625,905
Esth (Dorpat)		62,000		62,000
Esth (Reval)	22,382	56,104	14,590	93,076
Finn	245,788	749,143	100,223	1,095,154
Flemish	7,625	150,650	272,092	430,367
French	1,807,296	6,537,057	6,738,716	15,083,069
Fris			2,031	2,031
German	5,120,274	13,203,231	2,746,985	21,070,490
Gitano			1,006	1,006
Græco-Turki	19,000	37,618	52,012	108,630
Greek (Ancient)		362,841	69,745	432,586
Greek (Modern)	57,268	286,901	566,421	910,590
Hungarian	303,886	878,122	563,295	1,745,303
Carried forward,	9,578,241	25,619,612	12,653,401	47,851,254

Versions.	Bibles and Old Testaments.	New Test. and N.T.+Psalms.	Portions.	Total.
CONTINENTAL—*continued*—				
Brought forward,	9,578,241	25,619,612	12,653,401	47,851,254
Icelandic	9,561	20,551		30,112
Italian	513,095	1,243,962	3,422,196	5,179,253
Judæo-German (Yiddish)	25,000	148,674	312,673	486,347
Judæo-Spanish	245	17,000	12,475	29,720
Kalmuk			35,600	35,600
Kazan Turki			15,900	15,900
Lapp			5,000	5,000
Latin		59,256		59,256
Lett	83,212	308,840	54,000	446,052
Lithu	18,200	58,813		77,013
Liv			3,000	3,000
Macedo (Rouman)			5,000	5,000
Maltese			7,664	7,664
Mordoff (Mordvin)			1,000	1,000
Norwegian—*see* Danish.				
Perm			5,000	5,000
Piedmont		1,000	3,040	4,040
Polish	206,268	625,222	263,970	1,095,460
Portuguese	221,343	492,420	873,654	1,587,417
Provençal			504	504
Romansch (Lower)	3,000	7,000		10,000
Romansch (Oberland)	3,025	6,220		9,245
Rouman	25,916	250,858	223,928	500,702
Russ	66,800	4,149,180	6,042,332	10,258,312
Ruthen		17,168	40,888	58,056
Samogit		5,200		5,200
Sard			2,000	2,000
Servian and Croat	39,766	217,671	318,100	575,537
Slavonic		405,143	1,515,385	1,920,528
Slovak		41,394	8,320	49,714
Sloven		30,202	64,052	94,254
Spanish	481,898	912,991	2,450,998	3,845,887
Swedish	632,369	2,359,805	409,745	3,401,919
Syrjen			5,000	5,000
Turkish (Osmanli)	12,500	30,350	178,351	221,201
Vaudois with French			3,020	3,020
Votyak			3,000	3,000
Wend (Lower)		5,000		5,000
,, (Upper)	10,000	8,000		18,000
,, (Hungarian)		8,000		8,000
	11,930,439	37,049,532	28,939,196	77,919,167
ASIATIC—				
Ainu		100	1,029	1,129
Annam			27,151	27,151
Arabic	77,864	91,453	76,646	45,963
Armenian	13,483	91,820	87,397	192,700
Armeno-Turki	272	16,449	5,416	22,137
Assami			300	300
Badaga			5,000	5,000
Carried forward,	91,619	199,822	602,939	894,380

Versions.	Bibles and Old Testaments.	New Test. and N.T.+Psalms.	Portions.	Total.
ASIATIC—*continued*—				
Brought forward, .	91,619	199,822	602,939	894,380
Balti			500	500
Balochi			19,500	19,500
Bashkir			1,000	1,000
Batta	5,000	24,492	33,145	62,637
Bengali	32,100	79,276	2,304,644	2,416,020
Bicol			9,050	9,050
Bugi			136	136
Burmese			51,707	51,707
Cambodian			4,220	4,220
Chamba (Takri)			3,512	3,512
Chinese	226,908	1,527,962	11,152,129	12,906,999
Dakhani(Hindustani-Southern)		2,000	162,080	164,080
Dyak (Dajak)		1,500	6,000	7,500
Georgian		14,000	71,576	85,576
Gond			2,000	2,000
Gujarati	11,606	32,026	476,344	519,976
Hainan			2,317	2,317
Hakka		2,000	16,730	18,730
Hebrew	647,622	95,528	1,019,796	1,762,946
Hindi	45,644	159,497	1,665,289	1,870,430
Hindustani (Urdu) . .	65,348	172,391	1,421,036	1,658,775
Ilocano			18,345	18,345
Indo-Portuguese . . .		11,000	7,000	18,000
Jagatai-Turki (Tekke-Turcoman) . . .			3,535	3,535
Japanese	23,248	136,389	582,374	742,011
Jaunsāri			252	252
Java		7,520	117,047	124,567
Judæo-Persian			17,412	17,412
Kanarese	17,000	25,000	511,500	553,500
Karen (Bghai) . . .			11,000	11,000
,, (Pwo) . . .			2,000	2,000
,, (Sgau) . . .			10,000	10,000
Kashgar Turki . . .			2,000	2,000
Kashmiri		400	35,900	36,300
Katchi			500	500
Khasi	3,032	19,492	28,326	50,850
Khond			1,000	1,000
Kirghiz Turki . . .		7,800	5,000	12,800
Koi			2,526	2,526
Konkani			4,000	4,000
Korea		21,481	292,036	313,517
Kumuki Turki . . .			1,510	1,510
Kurd		11	4,530	4,541
Kurd (Kermanshahi) . .			527	527
Kurku			1,000	1,000
Kurukh (Uraon) . . .			5,016	5,016
Lepcha			2,000	2,000
Luchu			2,000	2,000
Lushai			1,533	1,533
Carried forward, .	1,169,127	2,539,587	20,695,519	24,404,233

Versions.	Bibles and Old Testaments.	New Test. and N.T.+Psalms.	Portions.	Total.
ASIATIC—*continued*—				
Brought forward,	1,169,127	2,539,587	20,695,519	24,404,233
Macassar			140	140
Madura			2,295	2,295
Magadhi			2,000	2,000
Malay	18,640	36,030	237,469	292,139
Malayalam	29,500	95,750	835,490	960,740
Malto (Rajmahali)			6,000	6,000
Manchu		1,000		1,000
Manipuri			2,500	2,500
Marathi	28,897	60,557	925,352	1,014,806
Marwari			1,000	1,000
Mondari (Kol)		2,000	43,570	45,570
Mongol		4,025	63,530	67,555
Multani (Jatki, Derwal)			3,000	3,000
Nepali			76,050	76,050
Nias			1,010	1,010
Nicobar			1,000	1,000
Oriya (Uriya)	6,500		60,000	66,500
Pali		500		500
Pampangan			5,000	5,000
Pangasinan			30,567	30,567
Panjabi		6,000	290,116	296,116
Pashtu or Afghan		6,012	79,052	85,064
Persian	20,150	64,667	179,481	264,298
Sangir		7,092	14,160	21,252
Sanskrit		1,000	29,000	30,000
Santali			75,566	75,566
Shan			2,000	2,000
Sindhi			69,757	69,757
Sinhali	33,857	59,050	271,231	364,138
Sunda			9,013	9,013
Syriac	4,150	14,764	140	19,054
Syriac-Chaldaic			2,000	2,000
,, Carshun		2,000		2,000
Tagálog		16,000	91,570	107,570
Tamil	145,500	260,500	3,290,577	3,696,577
Telugu	36,300	49,500	1,498,785	1,584,585
Tibet			76,023	76,023
Toda			500	500
Trans-Caucasian Turki (Tartar)	2,516	9,516	15,485	27,517
Tulu		4,000	16,200	20,200
Usbek Turki			3,010	3,010
Visayan			15,000	15,000
Vogul			3,000	3,000
Yakut Turki			4,500	4,500
	1,495,137	3,239,550	29,027,658	33,766,345
AFRICAN—				
Accra or Gâ		7,450	41,119	48,569
Amharic	4,996	16,010	37,206	58,212
Carried forward,	4,996	23,460	78,325	106,781

Versions.	Bibles and Old Testaments.	New Test. and N.T. + Psalms.	Portions.	Total.
AFRICAN—*continued*—				
Brought forward,	4,996	23,460	78,325	106,781
Berber			250	250
Bogos			300	300
Bondei			505	505
Bullom with English			1,500	1,500
Chagga			506	506
Chitonga			5,586	5,586
Chuana (Sechuana)	42,643	68,916	10,171	121,730
Coptic with Arabic			4,014	4,014
Ethiopic		7,040	2,100	9,140
Ethiopic with Amharic			7,131	7,131
Ewé		3,258	11,804	15,062
Falasha-Kara			525	525
Fang			1,615	1,615
Fanti		2,023	5,034	7,057
Galla	2,000		7,582	9,582
Galwa			505	505
Ganda	16,155	64,655	132,480	213,290
Giryama	1,013		6,091	7,104
Giryama with Swahili			504	504
Gogo			7,555	7,555
Gwamba (Thonga)			1,513	1,513
Hausa			7,935	7,935
Herero		4,000	2,000	6,000
Ibo		2,023	13,655	15,678
Igbira			505	505
Ijo			3,038	3,038
Ittu Galla			500	500
Jolof			507	507
Kabyli			8,176	8,176
Kafir (Xosa)	80,452	78,844	1,400	160,696
Kaguru			1,515	1,515
Kikūyu			505	505
Kongo		3,134		3,134
Koranko			509	509
Kuányama			2,754	2,754
Lolo (Balolo or Mongo)			2,278	2,278
Malagasi	101,045	274,150	371,412	746,607
Mambwe (Kimambwe)		505	1,013	1,518
Mandingo			500	500
Mauritian Creole			11,664	11,664
Mbundu (Kimbundu)			15,796	15,796
Mende			5,056	5,056
Nama		4,000	3,000	7,000
Namwanga		3,342	1,010	4,352
Ndonga		4,040		4,040
Nkondi			3,000	3,000
Nuba (Nubia)			507	507
Nupé			4,052	4,052
Nyamwezi			505	505
Nyanja			1,843	1,843
Carried forward,	248,304	543,390	750,231	1,541,925

Versions.	Bibles and Old Testaments.	New Test. and N.T.+Psalms.	Portions.	Total.
AFRICAN—*continued*—				
Brought forward,	248,304	543,390	750,231	1,541,925
Nyika (Kinyika)			1,011	1,011
Nyōro or Tōrō			33,925	33,925
Otshi (Ashanti)	5,000	8,000	18,118	31,118
Pedi or Sepedi		3,050		3,050
Pokomo		1,006	3,034	4,040
Popo			5,057	5,057
Rifi			1,031	1,031
Ronga			504	504
Sagalla			1,024	1,024
Sena			1,009	1,009
Shambala			1,010	1,010
Shona (Mashona)			4,549	4,549
Soga			706	706
Sukuma			3,243	3,243
Suto (Sesuto)	31,002	99,642	4,000	134,644
Swahili	5,074	8,088	77,630	90,792
Swahili (Mombasa)			6,629	6,629
Tabele (Sin Tebele)			3,547	3,547
Taveta			3,041	3,041
Temne			10,565	10,565
Tigrai (Tigré)			1,000	1,000
Tunisian			3,000	3,000
Yalunka			508	508
Yao			7,592	7,592
Yoruba	22,181	17,794	72,059	112,034
Zulu	17,452	29,386	5,736	52,574
	329,013	710,356	1,019,759	2,059,128
AMERICAN—				
Aimará with Spanish			1,611	1,611
Beaver			510	510
Blackfoot			504	504
Cakchiquel			2,040	2,040
Carib			2,538	2,538
Chipewya			4,283	4,283
Cree, Eastern and Western	5,050	14,396	14,750	34,196
Dominican Patois			506	506
Eskimo		4,000	18,574	22,574
Greenland		2,000	1,200	3,200
Guarani			517	517
Haida			2,040	2,040
Iroquois			1,000	1,000
Kwāgutl			2,539	2,539
Maliseet			1,520	1,520
Maya			3,552	3,552
Mexican			250	250
Micmac			9,311	9,311
Mohawk			2,000	2,000
Negro Dialect (Surinam)		11,099		11,099
Quiché			7,710	7,710
Carried forward,	5,050	31,495	76,955	113,500

Versions.	Bibles and Old Testaments.	New Test. and N.T.+Psalms.	Portions.	Total.
AMERICAN—*continued*—				
Brought forward,	5,050	31,495	76,955	113,500
Quechua			2,518	2,518
Tinné			3,792	3,792
Tukudh	1,010		6,399	7,409
Yahgan			2,529	2,529
	6,060	31,495	92,193	129,748
OCEANIC—				
Aneityum		4,040	16,590	20,630
Aniwa		1,000		1,000
Bierian			1,000	1,000
Bugotu			2,517	2,517
Dieri		750		750
Dobu			3,000	3,000
Duke of York Island			3,500	3,500
Epi, East (Tasiko)			606	606
Epi, West (Baki)			802	802
Erromanga		1,000	6,007	7,007
Fanting			1,000	1,000
Faté		3,500	3,825	7,325
Fiji	13,125	80,872		93,997
Futuna			500	500
Keapara			2,538	2,538
Lenakel		1,000	1,000	2,000
Lifu	4,202	4,035	4,047	12,284
Mabuiag (Saibai)			1,513	1,513
Malekula-Aulua			2,000	2,000
Malekula-Pangkumu			2,570	2,570
Malekula-Uripiv			2,000	2,000
Malo			2,005	2,005
Maori	11,110	93,356	47,970	152,436
Maré or Nengonese		4,047	13,030	17,077
Mer			1,013	1,013
Motu		5,067	7,088	12,155
New Britain		2,000	2,000	4,000
Nguna			12,020	12,020
Niué	3,041	11,580	15,092	29,713
Panaieti			1,000	1,000
Raratonga	24,424	10,605		35,029
Rotuma		4,020		4,020
Samoa	55,358	20,279		75,637
Santo			1,500	1,500
Suau			2,010	2,010
Tahiti	36,399	18,164	6,050	60,613
Tavara			2,010	2,010
Toaripi			5,062	5,062
Tonga	15,176	20,100		35,276
Ulawa			450	450
Uvea	1,008	1,000	1,505	3,513
Weasisi			1,200	1,200
Wedau			1,512	1,512
	163,843	286,415	177,532	627,790

SUMMARY OF VERSIONS.

	Languages.	Bibles and Old Testaments.	New Test. and N.T.+Psalms.	Portions.	TOTAL.
United Kingdom .	5	35,827,846	34,492,300	9,836,989,	80,157,135
Continental . .	62	11,930,439	37,049,532	28,939,196	77,919,167
Asiatic . . .	100	1,495,137	3,239,550	29,027,658	33,762,345
African . . .	76	329,013	710,356	1,019,759	2,059,128
American . .	25	6,060	31,495	92,193	129,748
Oceanic . . .	43	163,843	286,415	177,532	627,790
	*311	49,752,338	75,809,648	69,093,327	194,655,313

* This total represents languages in which editions were circulated by the Society. The Editorial table of languages for 1904 includes other translations promoted by the Society, but of which no copies were circulated through its agency.

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